

THE MAKING OF THE
ROMAN PEOPLE

THE MAKING OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE

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"BIMETALLISM EXAMINED," ETC.

138571
22/5/16

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.


39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

FOURTH AVENUE & 30TH STREET, NEW YORK

BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, AND MADRAS

1914

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INTRODUCTION

THE little volume now offered to the public was originally intended to form a chapter or two in a forthcoming work on the growth and decay of civilisation, as exemplified by the history of Rome. In the writing, however, it has assumed proportions far in excess of what had been contemplated. Consequently, it has seemed to me that it would be somewhat out of place in an inquiry which, in its essential features, must be sociological, economic, political, and institutional. I have decided, therefore, to offer it to the public in a separate, independent form, so leaving it to sink or swim according to its merits.

The origin of the Romans has been in controversy for thousands of years. But the interest in the question has not grown less as the years have passed. On the contrary, it has been quickened and increased by the new problems raised by the advance of science, and by the entirely unexpected light that has been thrown by modern research upon some, at least, of the pertinent evidence. I tender, therefore, no apology for putting forward a new view, which appears to me to have been strangely overlooked or disregarded, and yet which, I venture to think, is more probable than any hitherto

adduced. Nevertheless, I do not venture to hope that the evidence brought forward will be found convincing by many who have attained a certain age. Most of such persons who feel an interest in the subject, no doubt, have long ago made up their minds, and are in no way disposed to consider now with patient study an unsettling argument. Others, again, for different reasons, do not care to adopt opinions in conflict with those they have long held. It is to the newer generation of students that I look for an impartial, a careful, and a reasoned judgment. They have not yet committed themselves to any particular school, or any decided party. They are, speaking generally, seeking after truth for truth's sake; and they are ready to welcome everything that throws light upon the matters which interest them, from whatsoever quarter it may come. It is to them, then—the young, the fresh, the inquiring, the energetic—that I look for an unbiassed verdict, and to them, mainly, I address this volume.

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CHAPTER I

THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION.—IN NEOLITHIC TIME

MODERN research appears to have established that in the period which intervened between the Paleolithic Age and the discovery of metals and their use as weapons and implements of all kinds—the Neolithic Period, as it is called—the Mediterranean region was inhabited by a short-statured, long-headed, brown race. This group of peoples were formerly more generally described as “dark.” But as the word “dark” is liable to misapprehension—may, in short, suggest a connection with the negro branch of humanity—recent writers have usually substituted the word “brown,” and as it seems less equivocal, and more accurate, it shall be used in this discussion. In Europe the Brown race seems to have occupied the whole of the southern countries and the western as far north as Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. In North-western Africa it spread as far south as the slopes of the Atlas Mountains. In the centre it was bounded on the south by the desert. In Egypt it stretched apparently up the Nile as far as the Highlands of Abyssinia. There is much difference of

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opinion amongst the authorities as to how far it extended in Western Asia. There appears to be little ground for doubt that in the earlier part of the Neolithic Period it occupied Syria and Asia Minor. According to the best opinion, it seems, likewise, to have included the Sumerians, the originators of civilisation in the country afterwards known as Babylonia. There are some authorities, indeed, who go so far even as to maintain that the Brown race inhabited Arabia as well as Southern and Central Persia, together with Afghanistan and Baluchistan—reaching, in short, to the western borders of India. As I make no pretension to speak with authority upon this subject, I shall not endeavour to decide whether these views are, or are not, correct. Modern research is being pursued with such enthusiastic persistence at present by all the great nations, and is adding so rapidly to our information, that it is constantly changing opinions which, for a time, seemed to have been well established. It appears, therefore, the wisest and most scientific course to suspend judgment until research is pushed farther, when it may be possible to decide between the conflicting theories. At present, the evidence is not sufficient to warrant dogmatism. The most that can be laid down with any certainty is that the Mediterranean region was, during the Neolithic Period, occupied by the Brown race in question, not only in Europe and in Africa, but in Western Asia as well. How far it extended in Asia is a point that must be left to be determined by future research. It seems, also, to be settled beyond serious dispute that the Mediterranean islands were all inhabited by the

same race. The only distinct surviving members of the race at the present time are believed to be the Basques of Southern France and Northern Spain, and the Berbers of North Africa. Geologists appear to have proved that there were, up to the end of the glacial ages at all events, at least two land connections between Southern Europe and Northern Africa; one connecting Italy and Sicily with Tunis, the other connecting Southern Spain with Northern Africa at the Straits of Gibraltar. There may have been other connections. But if these did exist they would provide ample means of passage for portions of the race from Africa to Europe and back again.

If we are justified on the facts brought to light by modern research in concluding that the natives of ancient Egypt, those who built up the Minoan civilisation in Crete, and the originators of civilisation in Cyprus, were all members of this race, it is manifest that it was highly gifted. Long before the Aryans entered Europe there had been a very high civilisation in Egypt, Crete, and Cyprus. If, in addition, the Sumerians were a part of the Brown race, the proof is overwhelmingly strong of its intellectual superiority. It is to be borne in mind that every important invention known to the Greeks and Romans was familiar to the Egyptians before either Greece or Rome rose. Not merely had the Egyptians, the Cretans, and the Cypriotes settled upon the land, and built numerous large and flourishing cities; they had learned to navigate the seas; they had originated a considerable manufacture; they were expert in art; and, ulti-

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mately, if they did not discover the uses of the metals, they undoubtedly showed themselves proficient in the manufacture of all kinds of metallic instruments and utensils. Furthermore, they developed great religious systems; and they built up social and political organisations which must have been exceedingly ingenious to have lasted for so many thousands of years. Lastly, they laid the foundations of such sciences and practical arts as astronomy, mensuration, mathematics, architecture, and irrigation. Very probably the domestication of the dog, the horse, and other animals was effected early in the Pleistocene Age. Possibly, also, the discovery of wheat and other edible grains was effected, if not as early, at least comparatively early also in the Pleistocene Age. But there seems to be little doubt that the Egyptians and the Babylonians must have invented mensuration and the beginnings of astronomy and irrigation, unless, indeed, man in the more favoured parts of the earth had progressed during the Pleistocene Period to a much greater extent than is now generally believed, and the Egyptians and Sumerians had preserved a knowledge of the incipient arts and sciences even through all the wreckage of the worst of the Glacial Periods.

There is nothing really surprising in the discovery that our civilisation goes back very much farther than hitherto has been believed. On the contrary, it is what everybody who gives any study to such matters would expect. Without adopting Professor Keith's estimate of the length of time during which man has existed upon this Planet, it is beyond dispute that

he has existed for an immense length of time—for several hundreds of thousands of years, at all events. It follows from this fact that before the Paleolithic Age came to an end he must, in some parts of the world, at all events, have attained a considerable degree of civilisation. It would be contrary to all experience to believe that *Homo Sapiens*, having been evolved by so many successive stages from the primeval germ cell to the highest rank in the animal kingdom, at the end of that extraordinary evolution lost all capacity for further progress. Consequently, we are compelled by the very nature of our reasoning faculties to conclude that his advance must have continued. There are some high authorities, especially amongst geologists, who contend that the Paleolithic race died out in the last great Ice Age. They are led to this conclusion by noting that, whereas remains of Paleolithic Man, and more particularly of his artistic designs, are fairly plentiful before the last great Ice Age, they disappear after that Age. But even if the argument were allowed to be based upon unquestionable facts, it would not establish the conclusion drawn from it. Wherever glaciers covered the whole face of a country it was impossible for either man or animals to exist. Therefore, man must have been driven by the most extreme Glacial Age from Greenland, Scandinavia, North Germany, and the greater part of the British Islands, also from all the great mountains, like the Alps and the Pyrenees. But it is unreasonable to suppose that man was, likewise, driven from the plains of Southern Europe, or of

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Northern Africa, or Western Asia. If man remained in those more favoured districts, surely the reasonable assumption is that, however his progress may have been checked by the change of climate, and by the redistribution of land and water, he must have continued to progress. When, therefore, it is found that the relics of Neolithic Man differ in essential respects from those of Paleolithic Man, the reasonable conclusion to be drawn is not that Paleolithic Man had been exterminated, but that a great length of time intervened between the beginning of the last Ice Age and the Neolithic Age; that, in consequence, there was a change of civilisation and a change probably, also, in the arts, and even in the occupations of mankind. For example, nobody would argue that because, when the Roman dominion was fully established in Gaul, that country presented many features widely differing from those exhibited by it before Cæsar's arrival there, therefore the Gauls had been utterly exterminated, and a new people had been introduced in their place. On what grounds, then, are we justified in arguing that because the remains of Neolithic Man differ in many respects from those of Paleolithic Man, the latter must have been extirpated utterly, and a new race substituted for the old? So far as modern research goes, it affords no substantial reasons for believing that any extermination occurred anywhere. There were probably many migrations during the early Neolithic time, as there have been since. But there is no good evidence that anywhere the existing population was utterly destroyed. On the contrary, all the evidence—biological, geological, philo-

logical, and that derived from a comparative study of the superstitions, the sports, and the traditions of existing mankind—go to demonstrate that the earliest inhabitants of every region of which we know anything continue to form the substratum of the existing populations.

The fact that the early Christian Church included in its scriptures the Sacred Books of the Jews has had an extraordinary influence in warping the minds not only of literary persons, who more or less are of the clerical type of mind, but of scientific inquirers as well. It has led people to look for the origin of mankind and of mankind's beliefs and mankind's conceptions to Asia. It has, therefore, induced people to swallow the loose statements of facts given by chroniclers, or by reformers when denouncing the abuses they wished to remove, or of extreme Conservatives desiring to maintain what seemed to be in danger. It is, no doubt, true that there have been many migrations of Asiatics into Europe. But so far as we have information respecting those migrations, they swept over the face of the country, doing much injury, no doubt; treating life as of no value; and inflicting inordinate suffering upon those unable to resist them. But the invasions passed away with wonderfully little change in the old order of things. Except in Turkey and Hungary, there is little trace now of the various Tartar and Mongol invasions of Europe. There is surprisingly little mark left by the German Barbarians either in France or Spain or Portugal. And the long supremacy of the Tartars in Russia would hardly be sus-

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pected by anybody who had not historical knowledge that it had existed. Whether we look to the shape of their heads, or to their complexions, or to their superstitions, their burial customs, their marriage customs, and the like, no competent person can seriously doubt that the Brown race continues to contribute even to-day the largest element in the composition of the populations of the countries where they are found at the beginning of the Modern Period.

It is quite possible, of course, that while the Brown race constituted the main population of the Mediterranean region, there may have been alien races here and there in some of the countries included. The Pleistocene Period was of immense duration. All through it there must have been a continuous progress amongst mankind. Apparently, if the geologists are right, there were several changes of climate, from hot to cold, and from cold to hot. During the more favourable climates the advance of mankind may have been accelerated just as much as it may have been thrown back in the periods less favourable. But, upon the whole, there must have been fairly continuous progress. Not only must environment have continued to act as it acted from the beginning, but there must have been occasional variations in functions which must have favoured some individuals; and, therefore, tribes may have come into existence better suited to their environment than their near relatives. Those tribes may have acquired a domination over the less efficient tribes. In these and various other ways, differentiation may have taken place. It is quite possible, then, that while

the Brown race was dominant, and, in broad general language, may be said to have inhabited the whole Mediterranean region, yet there may have been other races, or, at all events, other varieties, either more advanced, or less advanced than the Brown men. It would seem, however, that the Brown men were, for the reasons already stated, very highly gifted, and, therefore, exceedingly efficient. What was the origin of the Brown race is a question impossible of solution in the present state of our knowledge. It may have been autochthonous, or it may have come from some other region. All that appears to be established is that, from the beginning of the Neolithic Period, it occupied the Mediterranean region, and that it still holds its ground, though it is mixed with other races now.

It is sometimes urged that Asia did not suffer during the Pleistocene Period from the extreme cold as much as Europe, because of the immensity of its extent, and the height of its great mountains—that, in short, the climate of Asia was much less moist than the climate of Europe, because the clouds either from the Indian Ocean or from the Pacific could not be carried over such vast spaces; that, therefore, glaciers did not exist to anything like the extent they did in Europe; and that, in consequence, the populations of Asia were not injured as were those of Europe. Indeed, it is sometimes pointed out that in all probability Central Asia and Persia were, even in the Glacial Period, suffering from drought, and that migrations from those regions occurred even in Pleistocene times. No doubt,

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geologists have good grounds for holding that Asia did not suffer as much as Europe ; and, in consequence, it is, of course, possible that the drying up of Central Asia and Persia goes back to a more remote past than hitherto has been supposed. But whether migrations from Asia were, therefore, induced is a matter of pure speculation. We have no means of judging whether they did, or did not, take place. And clearly it is unscientific to base an argument upon insufficient evidence. Even if we were to allow the general truth of the assertions, it would not necessarily follow that Europe would have been again and again overrun by Asiatic invaders, or that, if she was, the older European populations were exterminated. Suppose that, even earlier than the appearance of the Aryan ancestors of the Medes and Persians in the countries in which they ultimately settled, inhabitants either of Central Asia or of Persia marched westwards, is it not at least as likely that they settled in Western Asia as that they poured all over Europe ? That there were very early migrations into Western Asia seems to be indisputable ; and that they may have been occasioned by the drying up of portions of Asia is, of course, possible. Still, in the present state of our knowledge, the theory is based upon conjecture and not upon evidence.

Against the theory it seems reasonable to observe that the Mediterranean region was, to say the least, as favourably circumstanced as either Central Asia or Persia. It will be borne in mind that the great glaciers of the Ice Ages did not extend either to the level portions of the southern parts of Europe, or to

the northern parts of Africa, or to the western parts of Asia. Greenland, Iceland, Scandinavia, North Germany, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and England north of the Thames did suffer. Practically animals and men must have been driven from all these because they were covered with glaciers. The same is true, no doubt, of the great mountains like the Alps and the Pyrenees. But the glaciers did not extend south of the Po, nor over the plains of France or Spain. Therefore, speaking generally, throughout Southern Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia, there was no reason why the progress of mankind should not have been at least as rapid as in Persia or Central Asia. No doubt, it is true that man and beast, driven by glaciers from the British Islands and Scandinavia, must have crowded upon the more favoured parts of the Mediterranean regions; and must, therefore, have caused wars and disturbances of all kinds. At the same time, it is to be recollected that Europe and North Africa were joined by at least two connections: the one between Southern Italy and Sicily on the one hand, and Tunis on the other; the second between Gibraltar and Ceuta. Consequently, even if the pressure from the north was very severe, there were means of retreating; while it is reasonable to suppose that the settled inhabitants of the more favoured Mediterranean regions were more advanced in intelligence and manufacturing skill; and were, therefore, better armed, as well as superior in tactics, to those who were driven out by the glaciers from the British Islands and North Europe generally; and for that very reason were presumably unable to

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provide themselves with the means of waging successful war.

It is probable, then, that the retreating hordes were not capable of dispossessing the peoples they found in the warmer latitudes, and that the mortality amongst the former must have been very great. But, however savage the inhabitants of the warmer latitudes may have been, they would tire of slaughter sooner or later. They would have strong inducements to do so long before the invaders were all despatched. It is always to be borne in mind that laziness and greed are amongst the strongest of human passions. Amongst savages, women are little better than beasts of burden. Moreover, most savage tribes are found in possession of slaves. Furthermore, the lowest savage is as eager for gain as the keenest business man in the most ardent commercial community. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that when the desire for killing excited by the sight and smell of blood had been satiated for the time, multitudes of the vanquished were made slaves. Over and above this, whenever the men retreating before the on-coming ice displayed exceptional courage and military capacity, it can hardly be doubted that they were able to exact terms from their opponents. Consequently, it is quite possible, if not actually probable, that considerable numbers of them may have been incorporated in tribes which were at war with neighbouring tribes even before the incursion began, and that, in other cases, some of the fugitives may have been allowed to settle upon the land as helots, or something like it.

It is reasonably certain, then, that even in those far-off distant days the victors made slaves of large numbers of the vanquished, and that, where they did not make slaves, they compounded with them in many ways. Furthermore, British experience, not to speak of that of other countries in all parts of the world, gives abundant proof that there are classes and tribes who are willing to join with invaders against neighbours with whom they have a death feud. It is morally certain that death feuds must have been almost universal in the early ages of the world. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that many of the tribes in the warmer latitudes were engaged in a life and death struggle with other and neighbouring tribes, and that one or other of those tribes would gladly welcome to their assistance even invaders who were flying before the ice and seeking for pastures new elsewhere. The inevitable inference from all this seems to be that such of the inhabitants of the British Islands, Scandinavia, North Germany, and so on, as escaped with their lives and their belongings from the onrush of the ice, and from the submersion of lands, were not all exterminated; but that some of them were made slaves, while others were either incorporated by the tribes they visited, or were made use of in some way or other to relieve the inhabitants of the warmer latitudes from distasteful labour. In other words, then, victors and vanquished became fused and assimilated more or less. In addition to this, it is natural to suppose that, as has already been pointed out, the inhabitants of the warmer latitudes had made greater progress than those who were driven

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from their homes by the ice; and, consequently, that when the Ice Ages had passed away the newly fused peoples had reached a higher stage of civilisation than had been attained at an earlier period.

To show that this line of reasoning is not based upon mere assumptions of what is probable, it is only necessary to remind the reader that, long before the Neolithic Age came to an end, the Egyptians had reached a high stage of civilisation; had advanced so far in the rudiments of science that they were able to determine the extent of land to which each possessory unit, whether it consisted of a tribe, or a family, was entitled; and so to prevent quarrels when the Nile floods subsided, and permit each such unit to set to work in accordance with law. Moreover, the Egyptians at the same early date had been able to erect the Pyramids; and to do that they were not only in a position to employ great multitudes of men, but they must have had intelligence enough to invent machinery to lift the great blocks of stone which they employed in the building. Egypt, then, cannot have been very much subject to destructive invasion. It is true that Egypt was protected both on the west and on the east by deserts which were not easily traversable by invaders; and that the country itself is a very narrow strip reaching many hundreds of miles from north to south. Still, it is not to be forgotten that on the north-east the Sinaitic Peninsula admitted of easy invasion. In addition, it is to be recollected that the Nile comes close to the Straits of Babelmandeb. Consequently, invasion, either from Syria or from Arabia,

was not so difficult a thing as at first sight it may seem. Yet, however easy it may have been, Egypt proved itself to be so civilised and so efficient that it developed not only the arts, but the rudiments of science, and built up a great Empire long before the Neolithic Age came to an end. It appears to be unquestionable that Egypt, nevertheless, was conquered more than once. But the authorities are by no means at one as to who were the conquerors. There is great difference of opinion, for example, as to who were the Shepherd Kings. They may, of course, have been Semites, and they may have come either across the Straits, or through the Sinaitic Peninsula. But it is equally possible that they were a branch of the Brown race itself who followed the course of the Nile. Whatever may have been the real fact, it seems to be indisputable that Egypt was invaded and conquered more than once. But it is equally indisputable that the original population was not only not exterminated, but was not greatly reduced in numbers; and that after a time, longer or shorter, it reasserted itself, and recovered the government of its own country. Without pretending to speak with authority, the likelihood seems to be quite as great that what are called conquests from abroad were much more due to internal dissensions—dissensions, for example, between the people of the Delta and the people higher up the river—and that one or other of the contending factions called in tribes allied in blood to their assistance.

If one looks at the geographical position of Egypt and its natural conformation, free from all prepossession

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and all desire to establish a pet theory, one can hardly fail to see that it was most favourably situate to initiate civilisation and rapidly to develop it. As already said, throughout the greater length of the cultivated area it was protected from invasion by great deserts. The two points at which it was most open could be fortified and held without exhausting exertion. Moreover, the Nile itself, up to the first cataract, at all events, offered a safe, a cheap, and an easy means of communication. Even beyond the first cataract, though the obstructions were great, there were considerable stretches where communication was easy. In addition to all this, Northern Egypt is bounded by the Mediterranean, and thus is brought into easy communication with Western Asia, North-western Africa, and all the south of Europe. Lastly, the Red Sea, running down towards the Indian Ocean, gave easy access to the early Egyptians, not only to all Eastern Africa, but to Southern Arabia and Southern Persia. The climate, no doubt, is trying; but it is less trying than the tropics, or than the half-desert Arabia, or the Persia that suffers so much from drought. If, from one point of view, the climate is trying, from another it was favourable to very early man. Much clothing was not necessary while the savage was learning how to spin and to weave. Moreover, it looks as if the edible grains, like wheat and barley, were indigenous to the country. There was everything, then, to favour an early growth of civilisation. And the whole course of modern research tends to show that civilisation did arise in Egypt before it grew up in any other country. Modern research

has not as yet gone far enough to enable anybody to decide who first discovered copper. It seems clear that pure copper implements were in use at a very early period in Egypt. But whether the Egyptians were the first, not only to discover the metal, but to manufacture it, is disputed. It has been ingeniously suggested that the Egyptian women were, long before the uses of copper were known, accustomed to use malachite as a cosmetic, and that accident may have revealed either to one of them, or to some male relative, how copper could be extracted from malachite. That this really happened is the theory of one school; but whether Egypt did, or did not, first discover how to produce pure copper, it appears to be settled beyond reasonable dispute that she very early took the lead in making copper instruments; and that, in fact, her great success as a military power was due to her superiority as a worker in copper.

The people of the Minoan civilisation in Crete were also a branch of the Brown race; and they developed a high stage of civilisation like their Egyptian kinsmen. Whether their knowledge came originally from Egypt, or whether they took the lead and Egypt successfully competed with them, is not settled. But that they did reach a high stage of civilisation is agreed; and that they preceded the Phœnicians in maritime enterprise and maritime superiority seems to be now demonstrated. Until quite recently, everything seemed to show that the Phœnicians were the forerunners of all maritime enterprise. Apparently, we have now to change our opinion, and to admit that there was a

time when the Cretans were the greatest of maritime peoples; when they traded with all parts of the Mediterranean regions; and when they even ventured beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Cyprus, apparently, came later than either Egypt or Crete. There are investigators who question whether our word "copper" is derived from the name of Cyprus, as we used to be taught to believe; and whether, therefore, copper was first found in Cyprus. However that may be, it seems to be established that there was a great copper industry in Cyprus, as well as in Egypt and in Crete; and that all three preceded every branch of the Aryans in not only the use of metallic weapons, but in the production of pure copper from the ore, and in the manufacture of all kinds of metallic weapons. If we assume that the first appearance of the Aryans in Europe was about the beginning of the Second Millennium before Christ, or a little earlier, it seems to follow that Egypt, Crete, and Cyprus preceded the Aryans in the knowledge of metallic weapons; and that, in fact, that knowledge was disseminated by the conquests of the Egyptians in Syria and Asia Minor.

If further research corroborates this view of the invention of copper weapons, the old theories respecting the influence of Asia upon European civilisation will have to be given up, and we shall have to accept the view that modern civilisation originated in Egypt, and in the extreme south-east of the Mediterranean. Of course, Egypt and Crete may have inherited a large part of their civilisation from Paleolithic Man. The advance of civilisation in both

may have been rather a continuation of growth going on in the Pleistocene Age than a new origination. The probability, indeed, seems to be that it must have been so; that Pleistocene Man, considering the enormous length of time the Pleistocene Era covers, must have made immense progress; and that it is contrary to all experience to suppose that everything that had been learnt was utterly forgotten. But it is doubtful whether modern research will ever be able to settle such a point as that completely. In any case, modern research has not advanced far enough yet to enable anybody to form anything more than a good estimate. It is, consequently, useless to speculate upon what can be neither proved nor disproved. The more rational thing is to confine ourselves within the limits of the knowledge with which modern research provides us, and to say that, whether Egypt and Crete did or did not inherit their civilisation, at all events, they carried it forward much beyond what any contemporary people were able to do; and that, by the influence they exercised, the great trade they carried on with every part of the Mediterranean region, and probably also with Eastern Africa and Southern Persia, as well as the more remote trade which they carried on overland with the hinterlands of the Mediterranean, they spread some faint glimmers, at all events, of their own information over the world. When the Aryan races came within reach of the Egyptians and the Cretans, they learned from them the use, first, of copper; and afterwards, of bronze; and by so learning they made themselves so superior to the earlier inhabitants of the greater part of

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Europe that they were able to establish their dominion over almost the whole of the Continent. Still, if we would fully understand the history of the early stages of our civilisation, we must learn to appreciate how large a contribution to it was made by the Brown race, and more particularly by the Egyptians and the Cretans.

CHAPTER II

ITALY.—AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

ALL the evidence afforded by modern research points to the conclusion that in the Neolithic Age the Brown race was in almost exclusive possession of the Italian Peninsula. That it had attained a considerable degree of civilisation appears to be demonstrated by the recent discovery of a burial-place in the Abruzzi, believed to date from a time long anterior to the use of metals. The bodies there found are reported not to have been buried, but to have been laid in small cabins, from two to eight in each, on low platforms. The bodies, with one exception, it is further reported, all rested on one side, with the knees drawn up, the assumption being that they were so placed to give them the attitude of prayer in the death chamber. That these people belonged to the race which is still represented by the Basques and the Berbers is made highly probable by the circumstance that praying on the knees was in existence in the Stone Age in Egypt. That a considerable degree of civilisation had been attained, as said above, is proved by the objects found in the cabins with the bodies. These objects, amongst other things, consisted of vases and other utensils never hitherto found in the Neolithic Age. This discovery brings facts to light which are quite in accord with what

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might be expected. However destructive, as already said, the Glacial Period was where glaciers prevailed, in the lands with warmer climates, man must have made considerable progress during the countless ages throughout which the Glacial Period lasted. There is nothing, therefore, surprising in learning that in the Neolithic Age the inhabitants of Southern Italy were pretty much in the same stage of development as were the pre-Dynastic Egyptians. Clearly, people who buried their dead in the manner reported, and had developed manufacturing skill, must have long abandoned the merely nomad state; must have learned to cultivate the soil; must have domesticated many animals; and, therefore, must have attained a respectable degree of comfort. Presumably, if we may judge from the condition of things that existed later, the Italian Peninsula at this time was divided up into a multitude of small independent communities.

At a long subsequent date—how long we have no means of judging—an intrusive foreign band, apparently coming from over-sea, settled on the west coast of Italy and extended its sway over the western side of the Peninsula from the mouths of the Tiber up to, or nearly up to, the Alps. These colonists were known to the Romans under the name of Etruscans. Whence they came, to what branch of the human family they belonged, and what language they spoke, we do not know; so completely did the Romans blot out every remains of theirs which would enable us to settle any of the points just enumerated. Since they extended their sway so far northward on the right, or western,

bank of the Tiber, from its mouth almost to the great mountains, they must have been a people in, for the time, a comparatively high stage of civilisation. They must have had a better naval and military organisation than the communities they found in possession before their landing. Probably, also, they had better arms. That in the course of time they developed considerable naval power is evident from the fact that they concluded a treaty of commerce with one of the greatest seafaring powers of ancient times—Carthage. It seems, also, that they created an art of considerable merit, though we know exceedingly little about it. Furthermore, historians of Rome are generally agreed that they had a very elaborate religion and ritual, and that much of both was borrowed by the Romans and incorporated in their own system. If this latter view is correct, it has a very considerable bearing upon the origin of the Roman people. But it is too early to trace that bearing just now. It must be reserved for later consideration.

Somewhat later than the Etruscans, a second batch of foreign intruders forced themselves into Italy, namely, the Greeks. There is much to suggest that the Greeks belonged to the Asiatic branch of the Aryans. It would take up too much time and space to set out here the argument for this view in anything like detail. Summarising it as briefly as possible, it comes to this: firstly, so far as is known at present, the Greeks are first met with in the far South-Eastern Mediterranean, in Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes; secondly, the Greek colonies in Asia Minor had risen to power

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and eminence before Persia conquered Babylonia; thirdly, the Greek colonies on the northern coast of the Black Sea are so old that they figure in the earliest Greek legends; fourthly, the Greek settlers, as far as we can trace them now, seem to have proceeded from the extreme South-Eastern Mediterranean, up along the Asiatic coast of that sea, along the coasts of the Black Sea, and along the coast between that and Greece itself; fifthly, Hellas, which has hitherto been regarded as the Motherland of the Greeks, forms a small peninsula running into the Mediterranean, and never extended any considerable distance inland. A portion of the hinterland, such as Macedonia, for example, was afterwards claimed as part of Greece; but the real Greece, when Greece was at its zenith, was an exceedingly small territory washed by the sea on three sides. Lastly, it will be noted that, whereas the Greek settlements stretched from Palestine up to Constantinople, along the Asiatic coast, or off it, all over the Eastern Mediterranean, along the coasts of the Black Sea, the Hellespont, and so on, there are no Greek settlements of importance west of Italy and the islands immediately off Italy, with the single exception of Massilia. It is noteworthy that, while the Carthaginians, who admittedly sprang from the Phœnicians, were founding colonies to the westward along the north coast of Africa and the south coast of Spain, were pushing out into the Atlantic, and making settlements even beyond Gibraltar, as, for example, Cadiz, the Greeks ventured no farther than Massilia, and with that exception stopped short at Sicily. Further

than this, the statement seems warranted that there are peculiarities in the Greek language which seem to connect it more closely with Asiatic than with European Aryan.

If the reader will consider for a little while, he will recognise the reasonableness of the suggestion here put forward. Wherever the cradle of the Aryan race may have been, it was not in the extreme north of Europe, as has been suggested by some, for the simple reason that Scandinavia and North Germany felt the full brunt of the Ice Ages. However far back we push the end of the Glacial Period, it is scarcely possible that the Aryans can have originated either in Scandinavia, North Germany, or in North Russia. It must have taken an immense length of time for the glaciers of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, North Germany, and Scandinavia to melt. While they were melting man could not have occupied any of those regions. It seems to follow that settlement in them must have been at a much later date; when, in fact, the modern period was fairly well advanced. Consequently, if we accept the theory that the Aryans originated in a very cold climate, whether in Europe or in Asia, we must adopt one or other of two assumptions. The first is, that the Aryans were not a race in the ordinary sense of the term, but were a mixture of more than one race, probably of several; just as the English are a combination of the Brown people, Celts, Romans—with all the heterogeneous nationalities the latter introduced—and of Teutons, Scandinavians, and French. A still better illustration of what is meant is afforded by the

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spectacle of what is going on before our eyes, at the present moment, in the United States. There we see a new people coming into existence compounded of nearly every race at present represented in Europe, with a considerable element of negroes and Red Men as well. Mexico, which is attracting so much attention at the present time, furnishes another illustration of an amalgamation of several races, descendants of the people found in possession when the Spaniards first discovered the country being still a large element in the population, while there is an upper crust of Spaniards, and a lower sediment of negroes. Examples of combinations of this kind are, in fact, so numerous that it is unnecessary to refer to other instances.

The second assumption is that the race came into existence at a very recent date, not only long after Paleolithic Man, but considerably after Neolithic Man; which would seem to involve the further assumption that there must have been more than one evolution of human beings from apes. There is no sufficient evidence in favour of that. It may be objected that even if the Aryan peoples were not in their earliest stage denizens of a very cold country, they may have migrated to one at a later stage, and may there have developed the hardihood, courage, and military virtues they afterwards exhibited. That is, of course, possible. But it leaves the question as to the origin of the Aryans where it found it. It is perfectly true that the Scandinavians do speak an Aryan tongue. So do the North Germans. But it does not follow in the least that, therefore, they are of Aryan descent, any more than it

follows that the negroes of the United States and the West India Islands who speak English, are necessarily of English descent. Language in this matter tells us nothing, or, at least, tells us very little. The most probable solution of the problem respecting the origin of the Aryans is that they are not, and never were, a pure race; that they are composed of members of several races; and that all these have become so assimilated that it is impossible now to say which is, or which is not, of the original stock. Furthermore, it is impossible to say where the race, as we know it, grew up—where the amalgamation, that is to say, took place which has given rise to the various Aryan peoples. All that can be said with a really strong degree of probability is that Aryan languages are spoken from Scandinavia in the extreme north of Europe, and from Spain and Ireland in the extreme west, to India in the far-off East; that consequently, it is highly likely, since the languages are unquestionably near akin, that those languages, or rather the parent of those languages, grew up somewhere, if not midway, at least in the line that would connect Scandinavia with India. Unless the amalgamation took place in very recent times it could not have taken place in any land where glaciers prevailed in the Ice Ages. If that be so, we are prohibited from fixing the cradle of the race either in Scandinavia or North Germany or the extreme north of Asia.

It is quite true that the north of Asia did not suffer from the Ice Ages as Europe and North America did. Consequently, the argument is not so strong for excluding the cradle of the Aryan race from North Asia

as it is in the case of North Europe. But it is strong enough to make it improbable that the Aryans grew to the vigour, the numbers, and the power of which they afterwards gave evidence in a land that was not fertile and yet was so cold as to be unfavourable to progress in any of its forms. Owing to the enormous extent of Asia, and to the vast mountains which stop the rain-clouds before they can reach the centre of the continent, Siberia and Russia at this side of the Urals did not suffer much during the Glacial Era. Therefore, a vigorous race of man spread widely over the Russian, and possibly the Siberian, plains would be in a position to grow and multiply. On the other hand, it seems incredible that they could have maintained their position as a great political community for so long a time as to furnish swarms for no fewer than nine different migrations, as the theory commonly received demands, and yet have actually left so little trace behind them that research has failed up to the present to ascertain where the cradle of the race was. If we drop exaggerated guesses, and content ourselves with the briefest space of time adequate for the facts as we know them, we cannot fail to see that the reasonable probability is that the first home of the Aryans was somewhere which would make possible, and even reasonably probable, that migrations from it would take place as population grew, and either civil war, or foreign invasion, or the failure of sustenance forced large numbers to seek homes elsewhere. That migration did take place is certain, although we do not know the reasons which prompted them, or the dates when they occurred. All that we

are justified in propounding is that, whatever the cause, two great migrations, probably no more, actually occurred. Of the two swarms that set out, one of them, we may be sure, by very slow degrees, and amidst great difficulties and dangers, made its way to the great mountains that guard the north-west of India, dropping numerous bodies at various places on the march. The march, however, was not ended until the passes of the great mountains were forced, and the Aryan-speakers entered the land of the Five Rivers. From that they extended their sway over the greater part of India. The second swarm, which started from the cradle of the race, took a direction almost exactly opposite to that followed by the original speakers of Sanskrit. They turned westward and southward, and ultimately established their sway over practically all Europe. With their sway they spread different forms of the original Aryan tongue.

Presumably a migration of that magnitude could not have taken place unless the people were then in the nomad state. Otherwise, a portion only could possibly cut themselves adrift from everything that was near and dear to them, and could have taken with them their women and children, to found new homes in unknown lands. The strong likelihood is, judging from all historic experience, that a people settled on the land with permanent homes and special avocations would fight for their homes as long as they could; and if ultimately beaten would submit to their conquerors. A few comparatively might take to the mountains, or migrate altogether. But the vast majority would re-

main on their native soil. It would be different in the case of nomads. They would be in the habit of roaming over very considerable distances, changing their habitations at least every summer and winter. They would also be in the habit of taking with them wives, children, flocks, and herds. Therefore, as the Aryans colonised such an extensive proportion of the earth, it seems to follow that they must have migrated from the cradle of the race while they were still in the nomad state, and taken with them all their belongings. Otherwise, they could not have handed down their languages as they undoubtedly have done. Everybody who has given attention to movements of large bodies of human beings will at once recognise the force of this argument. Even in the case of men organised and disciplined, long marches cause ruinous mortality. Perhaps the most striking illustration is to be found in the loss of life, and the cost in money, of the attempts of the Russian Government to hurry up from all parts of its empire immense bodies of men to relieve Sebastopol when besieged during the Crimean War. Every student of that war will remember how Russia broke down under the strain. If long marches, continued without frequent and protracted rests, are so disastrous in the case of young, disciplined men, it is manifest that they would be absolutely impossible in the case of a mixed multitude of men and women of all ages with young children, flocks, and herds.

Even for nomads a march over the cold part of Asia—and the Aryan homeland must have been cold since the Aryans are everywhere described as an ex-

tremely fair people—through all obstacles of rivers, mountains, and hostile tribes, over such a distance as from the Russian, or Siberian, Steppes, to Hindostan, would be impossible unless they settled for long periods very frequently. Anybody who has ever had experience in moving with a considerable number even of men will understand that. But when women, children, flocks, and herds are added, the stoppages must have been extremely frequent and very protracted. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that one of the long resting-places was somewhere in Armenia. Moreover, it seems evident that a portion of the moving swarm had become so attached to their new home that they settled there definitively. Similarly, it is reasonable to suppose that another band became so attached to what afterwards came to be known as Persia that they settled there, while the more adventurous pushed on, and forced their way through the great mountains that protect India on the north-west. Meanwhile, either the Persian settlers or the Armenian settlers grew numerous, and from one or other of them bands pushed forward, and, presenting themselves in Cyprus, introduce us for the first time to the ancestors of the Greeks.

It is admitted on all sides that the Greeks contributed in no way to the foundation of the Roman State. Greek settlements were spread over the southern and western coasts of Italy, some of them as near Rome as the Bay of Naples. They were exceptionally numerous, however, in the south of the Peninsula. But it is manifest that they did not furnish any considerable element to the composition of the Roman people. If

they had done so the relationship between the Greek and Latin languages would be much more intimate than it is, even supposing that the Greeks were too few to permanently influence the tongue they adopted. Furthermore, when Rome became great the Greeks would have been proud to acknowledge that she was a daughter of Hellas. On the other hand, the Romans were so anxious to claim some kind of connection with Greece that since they could not trace their descent to any Hellenic people they adopted the legend that they were descended from Trojans. Still, the near neighbourhood of great Greek cities (and it is to be recollected that at one time some of the Greek cities were incomparably richer, more civilised, and more powerful than Rome) must have had a considerable influence upon the little State in its early days, if it were only through the means of trade. However that may be, it is certain that the Greek population of Italy did not contribute any perceptible element to the building up of the Roman community. Moreover, as what little we know respecting the Etruscans suffices to prove that they were not Latin-speakers, that portion of the population of Rome which introduced the language that ultimately became Latin cannot have been derived from Etruria.

The theory generally accepted in modern times is that dialects, either identical with, or nearly akin to, Latin were spoken by the people of Latium, the Sabines, and some other neighbouring tribes; and that from them the founders of Rome sprang. Whether these founders were mere banditti, or had become fused together in the course of events which have been com-

pletely forgotten, cannot now be ascertained. This theory rests ultimately upon a tradition which has come down from the Romans themselves. Otherwise, it is full of so many difficulties that it could never have obtained credence. In the first place, Latin is indisputably one of the Aryan tongues. But the Aryans, wherever the cradle of the race was, certainly did not come into existence in Italy. If the original Latin-speakers on the banks of the Tiber were Aryans, they must have come from a great distance. But it has never in historic times been possible to find any trace of the advance of Latin-speakers from a great distance to Central Italy. The Sanskrit-speakers, the Persians, the Armenians, even the Greeks, have left numerous marks of their advance scattered over wide stretches of the earth's surface. The Celts, the Germans, and the Slavs have made even more widely-spread impressions. The Latins alone of all the supposed branches of the Aryan race have not left a trace of any kind anywhere outside of Central Italy. If one considers the time it must have taken for nomad tribes with women, children, flocks, and herds, to march thousands of miles across continents, over rivers and mountains, and come down to Central Italy, it surely is incredible that a people so virile and so warlike as were the ancestors of the Roman speakers of Latin could have left no vestige of their advance. The advance of the Celts can be tracked beyond doubt through Austria-Hungary, Germany, and through the greater part of Western and Southern Europe. But if there was an original Latin migration from the Aryan home, and if

it gave birth to the people who conquered so much of the globe's surface, and yet left not a sign on the route they travelled, it is unexampled in all history.

In addition to this, I would submit that the Latin language itself presents resemblances so striking to another language as to convince any person who is not blinded by traditional beliefs or ingrained prejudices. The resemblance could not have failed to be recognised long ago, were it not for certain circumstances which account for the facts. One of these is that the relationship between Latin and either Greek, or German, or Slav, is too remote to make it possible that Latin could be derived from any of these. The mere fact of the great distance at which Sanskrit, Persian, and Armenian were spoken puts those languages out of the competition. Therefore, it is not, perhaps, surprising that philologists, in their attempt to trace the descent of the speakers of Latin, came to the conclusion that Latin must have been one of the original offshoots of the Aryan tongue. They were encouraged in this conclusion by another circumstance, namely, that the language which it is suggested is the real parent of Latin is now spoken by no great people. If it were, if it had been developed like the languages of peoples who have played a great part in historic times, the resemblance would have been seen long ago. But Celtic is spoken at present only by broken remnants of nationalities which never rose to political eminence. One form of it is spoken in Brittany and Wales, another in Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Scotch Highlands. The Cymric branch may be put aside, because Roman rule

extended for centuries over the countries where it is now spoken. It might, therefore, plausibly be contended that whatever resemblance exists between Cymric and Latin could be accounted for on the theory that the subject people in the course of centuries borrowed so much from their conquerors and rulers. It is different, however, with Irish and Scotch Gaelic. Ireland never was conquered by the Romans, and, therefore, it is impossible that there could have been a borrowing on a great scale by a backward conglomeration of tribes from a highly civilised foreign power beyond the sea. It is quite true that both the Irish and their descendants, the Scotch Gaels, were converted to Christianity by Roman missionaries, and that a great many Latin words were introduced by those missionaries and their successors. But those words may, without great difficulty, be recognised, as they usually have reference either to religion in some one of its forms, or to matters in which Catholic priests would be so intimately interested that they might reasonably be expected in the course of centuries to introduce foreign words to express fine shades of meaning.

The very obscurity, then, of Celtic in all its branches goes far to explain the failure of inquirers to recognise its near kinship to Latin. Moreover, political and national feelings have played a part. Although the French have for centuries spoken a neo-Latin tongue, there was so large a settlement of Gauls in France that they gave their name to it and, no doubt, impressed their character to a considerable extent upon the peoples they found there on their entrance. But the French,

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having abandoned Celtic so long ago, are not specially qualified to understand its relationships. On their part the Germans and British have for so long a time been engaged in war with France that national repugnance blinded them to the historical interest inherent in Celtic. Lastly, it may be pointed out that the backwardness of the Irish clans when Englishmen first became acquainted with them; their inability to league themselves together permanently in defence of their independence; and the antagonistic spirit they have ever since displayed; were all calculated to prejudice English observers against the claims of Gaelic to special study. It is unnecessary to cite further reasons why the close relationship between Gaelic and Latin has been overlooked, more particularly during the period in which philology has been pursued so eagerly. It will be more to the purpose to produce evidence that the close relationship actually does exist.

Before coming to that, however, it will be well, for the benefit of readers who have not given much attention hitherto to such matters, to bring before them somewhat more clearly how widespread, how adventurous, and how successful in colonising the Gauls were. When we first get a glimpse of them they were settled in Southern Russia and along the Lower Danube. Modern research seems to have established beyond reasonable doubt that the Scythians were a branch of the Gaulish stock; that they occupied what is now known as the Balkan Peninsula when the earliest Greek adventurers made acquaintance with the northern shore of the Black Sea; and that, in fact, the Greek colonies planted along the

northern shore of that sea and of the straits connecting that sea with the Mediterranean were almost incessantly at war with the Scythians. In the intervals of peace, however, that frequently occurred, an active trade was carried on between both. Whether the Sarmatians also were Gauls is not clear, but the probability seems to be that they were. Putting the Sarmatians aside, however, nobody who has seriously studied the evidence can call in question the fact that the Gauls in the Second Millennium before Christ, and very likely for an immense period before, were stretched over a vast area which is now known as Southern Russia, the Balkan countries, and Austria-Hungary. These Gauls were known to the Greeks under several denominations; but the names generally applied to them by the Greeks are Celts and Scythians. It is, however, by no means improbable that the return of the Heraclidæ really refers to an incursion of Gaulish clans. From what has just been said, it will be understood how near the Gauls were to the Greeks, and how constantly the two peoples came into collision. Furthermore, all we know of the history of the Gauls impresses upon us that they were incessantly sending out swarms to extend their territory. Moreover, it is by no means unlikely that the Dorians consisted, likewise, of a body of Gaulish clans. Both Greek and Gaelic are branches of the Aryan family of languages. In the remote times now being referred to, it is probable that the differentiation of Greek from Celtic had not proceeded so far as to make the two antagonists entirely forgetful of their common origin. If that were so, Gaulish clans, settling in Sparta or any other part of

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Greece, would not be regarded as mere barbarians ; and after a while, it seems reasonable to assume, would come to be looked upon as brother Greeks.

Whether that be so or not, it seems to be well established that the Gauls, as they grew and multiplied, in the course of generations moved forward from the Lower Danube ; spread themselves out over what is now Austria and Hungary ; gradually took possession of the greater part of Germany ; and, likewise, settled in Switzerland and the Alps generally. This forward movement must have taken up a great deal of time. It will be recollected that, at a somewhat later date, another branch of the Celtic race, the Cymbri, were settled in the Cymbrian Peninsula, and, in league with the Teutones, invaded the Roman Empire about 100 B.C. Ten, perhaps twenty, centuries before this latter date, the Gauls had poured into France, a large part of which they permanently settled ; had passed over the Pyrenees into Spain and Portugal ; and, furthermore, had crossed the English Channel and taken possession of the British Islands. Before they had done this, another swarm of them passed over the Caucasus and founded a settlement, Galatia, on the southern coast of the Black Sea. Lastly, Gaulish clans in such considerable numbers poured over the Alps that they were able to occupy and Gallicise the whole of North Italy to the Po, and a little south of it. It is not possible, at present, at all events, to determine when the great migration began, or even at what date the Gauls first appeared at the Italian side of the Alps. There seem, however, to be reasons for believing that the commonly assigned date

is altogether too late. The likelihood is that the movement from Southern Russia took up a very long space of time ; that it was interrupted at several periods, but again and again renewed ; and that even the colonisation of North Italy was not accomplished in a single irruption. What seems most probable is that there were successive invasions, not merely of Italy, but of almost all the countries more or less fully occupied by the Gauls.

The invading Gauls found the Etruscans already in possession of the greater part of North Italy, and a struggle ensued which drove the Etruscans over the Po, and ultimately confined them to the region in which they were found in Roman times. The struggle was probably protracted, and in the course of it, it is reasonable to assume that bands of Gauls penetrated Central Italy. Just as Hannibal at a later date passed from the extreme north to the extreme south of Italy, it would be strange if the Gauls, when they had expelled the Etruscans from the territory that came to be known as Gallia Cis-Alpina, did not follow up their successes and march southwards at both sides of the Tiber. One can see no reason why they should limit themselves to a fight with the Etruscans. On the contrary, many reasons suggest themselves why they should endeavour to acquire as much of the Peninsula as they could. If they did, there is nothing unlikely in the suggestion that the Latins, and other Aryan-speakers of Central Italy, were descended from Gaulish clans who, in the conflict with the Etruscans, forced their way to Central Italy. By what means these Gaulish

settlers in Central Italy were separated from those clans who completely colonised Cis-Alpina it is impossible now to discover. It may be that other Gaulish clans rushing over the Alps compelled the Cis-Alpine Gauls to withdraw the bulk of their forces from Central Italy in order to protect the land they had made their own, and so severed the connection between the Gauls of Cis-Alpina, and those of Central Italy. Or it may have been that an aspiring Gaulish leader revolted against the supreme chief of the Cis-Alpine Gauls; and, being expelled from the Cis-Alpine Confederation, set up an independent government in Central Italy, which ultimately broke up just as Alexander's generals dismembered his empire after his death. Whatever may be the real explanation, there is nothing unreasonable or improbable in the assumption that a people so adventurous and so aspiring should not have contented themselves with the acquisition of all Italy north of the Rubicon, but should have pushed down a considerable way farther; and that, in consequence of events which cannot now be discovered, the connection between the advance guard and the whole body of Cis-Alpina should have been broken off. No very long interval need elapse for the memory of the original connection to be forgotten. It would be only necessary to assume that the Latin Gauls, for one reason or another, amalgamated gradually with the people they subdued, and that a new language grew up which, while it continued to be Aryan in essence, contained a vast number of non-Aryan words; possibly also may have been modi-

fied to some extent in its syntax by the tongue of the subject people. Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Roumanian are all derived from Latin. Yet in the course of time they have become not mere dialects, but different languages. Similarly, when the Gauls found themselves cut off from their co-patriots in Cis-Alpina, and face to face with surrounding enemies, they would inevitably use their utmost efforts to attach the conquered people to them; and, in consequence, the superior Aryan tongue would absorb in itself an immense number of native words, so that in no great length of time a new language would come into existence. That was what happened in England during Norman times, and in many other countries that might be mentioned.

In support of the view just put forward, we have the acknowledged fact that the Gauls did penetrate as far as Rome, and capture the City. In spite of this it is supposed to be incredible that, if the Gauls had permanently established their authority in the City, gradually subdued the neighbouring country, and ultimately extended their conquests so widely, their descendants would have forgotten who it was that did all this. Here in England people are proud to claim descent from the followers of the Conqueror; and it is argued that Romans would have been equally proud of their descent from a people who had brought under their dominion so many lands in more than one continent, and who had built up Rome itself to its greatness. It is indisputably difficult to explain the attitude of the Romans on this question. But it is to be

recollected that the history of Rome, previous to the invasion of King Pyrrhus, is a mass of contradictions and inconsistencies which raise all kinds of difficulties which cannot be satisfactorily disposed of. When once the Greeks began to deal with the history of the City we feel ourselves upon solid ground. But before that we are compelled to regard the accounts that have come down to us as legendary, and to a great extent mythical. It is surprising how soon a conquered people forget their early history. The complete conquest of Ireland by the English, begun in the reign of Henry the Eighth, was not thoroughly completed until the reign of William the Third. In the interval, the ownership of nearly the whole of the land was transferred from the native clans to English and Scotch adventurers, and a system of government was established as well calculated as can be imagined to keep alive the resentful remembrance of the conquest. Yet few people who are not thoroughly acquainted with Ireland would believe how ignorant the descendants of the Catholic Irish are of what then took place, and how completely in the dark they are respecting previous times. That their ancestors wore the kilt, lived in clans, and universally spoke Gaelic is forgotten by the majority of English-speakers; at all events, was forgotten until the recent revival of interest in everything Gaelic. If that can have happened in the short space of little more than two centuries, at a time when so many books and newspapers are published every day, it is easy to understand that the Romans of the later Republic may have completely lost all knowledge of

their early history. This is made the more likely when it is recollected that in the course of Rome's conquering career, the original Roman burghers had almost died out, and that their place was taken largely by freedmen and foreigners. It may be objected that while the suggestion is likely enough regarding the poorer and more ignorant classes, it is incredible in the case of the Patricians, who kept religiously statues of their ancestors which they publicly paraded at the funeral of every great Patrician chief. The objection is natural. But it applies equally to every account that can be put forward concerning the origin of the people. Everybody admits that the early history is pure legend. That being so, either the Patricians must have forgotten the history, just as the rest of the people, or else they had a motive which is not clear to us for favouring the legends which were palmed off upon the credulous.

One eminent historian, perceiving clearly the inconsistencies and contradictions of the accepted view, boldly propounded the theory that the struggle between the Patricians and the Plebeians does not indicate that the latter were a conquered people held in subjection and denied the rights of citizenship by the former; that, on the contrary, it means that Rome at a very early date had become so great a commercial emporium that multitudes of foreigners flocked to it; that their descendants multiplied with such amazing rapidity, that after a while they vastly outnumbered the original population; and that they then became impatient of their citizenless position, and wrung from the Patricians a share of all the privileges theretofore

monopolised by the latter. It seems to be enough to say regarding this strange theory that it is contrary to the history of all peoples and all times; that it is in direct contradiction to all Roman tradition, and especially to that legend which tells us that when the First Punic War broke out the Romans were so ignorant of seafaring that they were incapable of building a military vessel; that they owed to the chance that a great Carthaginian galley was wrecked on the Italian coast, the obtaining of a model; and that, even when they had profited by the chance, their men had to learn the use of oars upon the land before they ventured upon the water. In addition to all this, it surely is incredible that a heterogeneous multitude drawn from goodness knows where by the mere desire to make a livelihood; having no other connection with one another; having no leadership, and no common bond of union; could have elbowed so virile and warlike a race as the Romans out of the positions which the theory compels us to suppose the immigrants gained; and that, ultimately, the real population, so high-spirited, so martial, and so tenacious of its rights, was compelled by brute force to share all its privileges with the intruders.

A more recent writer, recognising the untenability of such a theory, puts forward another scarcely less in accordance either with tradition, with probability, or with such knowledge as we possess. It is that the Latin language was spoken, not by the Patricians, but by the Plebeians; that it was imposed by the more numerous portion of the population upon the ruling

portion; and that, as a matter of actual fact, language usually is imposed by the subject upon the ruling portion of the population. The latter part of the argument thus briefly summarised is disproved by all history that we possess. The Romans themselves formed a very small proportion of the population of Italy even at the very zenith of their greatness. Allowing for the numerous colonies they planted throughout the Peninsula to hold the subdued populations in subjection, nobody who looks at the censuses that have come down to us can for a moment doubt that they formed no more than a small fraction of the whole of the inhabitants of Italy. Yet this small fraction rooted out not only the languages of the indigenous populations, if we may use the term for want of a better, but they also rooted out the Greek, the Etruscan, and the Gallic. Moreover, when they spread their conquests over so large a part of the world they carried their language with them, and they imposed it on the whole Western Empire—in other words, upon every portion that had not already been more or less Hellenised.

Again, the Greeks were a mere handful compared with the inhabitants of Alexander's empire, and yet one is amazed to see how rapidly, in literature, at all events, Greek displaced the languages of the great peoples that had preceded Alexander, and to how considerable an extent Greek must have been spoken even by the humbler classes, if we may judge, amongst other things, from the New Testament. Again, the Spaniards imposed Spanish upon Central and South

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America. The Saracens carried their speech with them wherever they went. And even the Turks found apostates from Christianity adopting Turkish likewise. Probably the theory here under consideration has been suggested by the misreading of the history of the English language. The Battle of Hastings was fought in 1066, and King John died in 1216. During that period of 150 years, nobody who really has studied the events of the time can entertain a doubt that the French tongue made extraordinary progress in England. It has been asserted that it was commonly spoken by nearly, if not quite, half the population. Whether the assertion be correct or not, it is beyond dispute that it was spoken very widely. Not only was it the mother tongue of the royal family and of the great barons, but it was the language of the Law; while nearly every ecclesiastic of distinction and authority was, if not a Frenchman, at all events a French speaker. But in the reign of King John the English Sovereign lost not only Normandy but practically also the dominions of the Plantagenets. Apparently, the first result of these losses was a desire on the part of the great English nobles to annex England to France. For everybody knows that they invited the heir of the French throne over to depose King John. Luckily for England, King John died in the nick of time, and a child came to the throne. He had a very able guardian. As a result, there was a speedy reaction. The feeling in favour of the French connection was rapidly rooted out. So strong was the national reaction that when Henry the Third grew up to manhood and showed himself un-

duly favourable to the fellow-countrymen of his Queen, Simon de Montfort was able to use the English prejudice against foreigners with such effect that he came very near to dispossessing his brother-in-law. As it was, he laid the foundations of the English parliamentary system. The reaction that then set in grew under the first two Edwards. The third Edward, by laying claim to the French throne and beginning the Hundred Years War with France, fanned the flame of nationalism to such an extent that during his reign literature in English truly took its rise. In reality, then, the history of the English language affords the strongest possible evidence that, where there exist in the same country a ruling race and a subject race, it is the ruling race which finally determines which of the two languages in competition is to prevail. If Louis of France had supplanted King John, can anybody seriously doubt that English would have been killed, and that French would have become the language of these islands? Again, even if the French attempt had been defeated, had Henry the Third been as capable a man as, let us say, either his son or his grandfather, is there any ground for believing that a strong reaction against France and against foreigners generally would have arisen, and the spread of the French tongue been suddenly arrested? English history, then, does not support the strange argument referred to above. Quite the contrary. It confirms the experience of all other countries, that a conquering race, strong enough to maintain itself for a great many generations, and to impose, not only its own authority, but its laws, its social organisation, and its peculiar

form of religion, will prove strong enough also to impose its language. The guesses just discussed illustrate how ill-satisfied are inquirers into the origin of the Roman people, and at the same time how indisposed they are, as so often happens, to accept the obvious explanation of the riddle, partly because it is so very obvious, but, mainly, no doubt, because the modern intellect is still in bondage to Roman ideas.

CHAPTER III

ITALY.—AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY (*continued*)

THE very scanty information that has come down to us respecting the condition of Italy before any branch of the Aryan-speaking peoples reached the Peninsula suggests that the Etruscans were the earliest of the foreign colonists of which we know anything definite, and that they had conquered the left, or eastern, bank of the Lower Tiber, as well as the right, or western bank. The Brown race, which, as has been pointed out, apparently forms the foundation of all the populations of Southern and Western Europe, had up to then occupied Central Italy. When, however, the Etruscans were in the hey-day of their prosperity, they not only colonised the country on the right side of the river from the mouth of the Tiber up to, or nearly up to the Alps, but they also established their authority on the Seven Hills. Partly, this assumption rests upon the Roman tradition which tells us that there were three Etruscan kings of Rome. The tradition, as such, of course, does not carry very much weight as historical evidence. But it is to be recollected that every tradition must have some basis of fact to rest upon. The Homeric poems, the romances of King Arthur and of Charlemagne, and the ballad of Chevy Chase do not probably deal with real persons and real events. But

Schliemann has proved that on the site on which Troy was supposed to have stood there were in long past times three successive cities, the ruins of the lowest representing the earliest; those of the uppermost being the latest. There was, therefore, a city, whatever name it went by to the inhabitants, which answered to the Homeric Troy. It is unnecessary to add that there were Achaians, likewise. Similarly, there was a struggle between Saxons and Britons for the possession of England. Whether the Britons on any occasion were led by a King Arthur, is very questionable. No less so is it whether, if there was a King Arthur, he was surrounded by a number of heroic knights. Again, Charlemagne was a historical personage; the Franks of his time crossed the Pyrenees; and the Moors were in possession of Spain. Lastly, there were Percies and Douglasses; and, whether or not they ever fought at Chevy Chase, they undoubtedly on several occasions did contend with one another. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that, when in after-times the Romans came to believe that they were ruled over by three Etruscan kings in succession, there was a period in the history, if not of the City, at least of the site upon which the City afterwards stood, when the Seven Hills were a portion of a territory ruled over by an Etruscan principality. If the evidence ended there, it would not be very trustworthy. But it is universally accepted as a fact that the religion of the Romans was, in large measure, derived from the Etruscans. It does not follow in the least that the Roman Patricians did, as a matter of fact, drop their old beliefs and adopt those

of the Etruscans. But it is extremely likely that, being a small minority ruling over a large body of subjects who had imbibed Etruscan beliefs, the subject people introduced many of those beliefs, rites, and ceremonies into the established Gaulish ceremonial, just as the dark people of India introduced much of their own superstitions into the creeds of the conquering Aryans. Religion, we must not forget, can be changed by a strong Government intent upon forcing the change, and lasting long enough to carry it through, just as a language can be compelled to fall into disuse, and another language made to take its place. But a complete change of language is much more easy than a complete change of religion. For a conquering race usually imposes its own laws, and a subject race is at great disadvantage if it does not understand the laws which it is compelled to obey. On the other hand, in the case of religion, law can easily enough force men to comply with certain forms; but law cannot find out whether men change their beliefs or not. Accordingly, we find that in every religion in every country, popular creeds survive under the name of superstitions. What is known, then, of Roman religion does strengthen the argument that Etruscan rule preceded Gaulish rule in the territory which was afterwards the cradle of the Roman people.

Over and above this, the confused, inconsistent, and manifestly legendary account which subsequently gained currency in Rome of the conquest and sack of that city by the Gauls suggests that what was afterwards known as the original Roman domain was at the time of the sack under Etruscan rule. The

cackling of the geese when the Gauls at night attempted to scale the last stronghold of the besieged remnant of the Roman people is, upon the face of it, a popular legend invented long afterwards. The escape of a single messenger from the besieged stronghold, and his journey to Veii to invoke the assistance of the greatest of living Roman generals, who had been unjustly banished, nobody can doubt is equally apocryphal. Further, that general's immediate march from Veii, and his defeat of the Gauls, convey a hint that Rome then was a mere outpost; that the real power of the State was in Veii or some other Etruscan city; and that Rome was not permanently made Gaulish until the dominant Etruscans were compelled to cede it. This view of the case makes intelligible, and even natural, the intense animosity borne by the Romans against the Etruscans. The Romans never were clement to a powerful enemy. But they usually had enough of political sense to stop short of a determined attempt to extirpate an antagonist, unless, like the Carthaginians, he had inspired them with a fear that could not be slaked by any measure short of annihilation. The Gauls on coming into Italy found the Etruscans at the height of their greatness barring the way. The former forced their opponents out of the great valley of the Po. They pursued them into the middle of the Peninsula; and there the struggle was continued for an indefinite time. But it did not end until practically the Etruscans were, not merely crushed, but were almost rooted out. Their language, their arts, their literature, their history, are all lost.

The fierce, undying hatred entertained by Rome for the Etruscans prepares us for, and makes intelligible, the similar feeling against the Carthaginians at a later date. The theory here propounded accounts naturally for all the facts, while every other theory put forward is inconsistent in some particular or other. To sum up, then, the theory is that a band of Gauls advancing from Cis-Alpina made its way down to the Lower Tiber; there found the same enemy it had encountered in Upper Italy attempting to bar its way; after a long and desperate struggle the Gauls prevailed, and established themselves not only in the Roman territory proper, but in Latium, and in the other little States which at a later date spoke dialects or languages near akin to Latin; that after the death of the Brennus who effected all this, or it may be after two or three of his immediate descendants had passed away, his empire fell to pieces, Latins, Sabines, and so on asserting their independence. If such a thing happened, it would be in clear accordance with all clan history. When the clan—that is, the direct descendants of a single male ancestor—grew very numerous, nearly everywhere there has occurred a break-up of the clan, and the establishment of sub-clans. That this actually happened in the case before us seems to be proved by the fact that it is manifest that amongst the Romans and the other Aryan-speakers of Central Italy the memory survived of their near kinship. The proof consists, among other things, of the stories about the Rape of the Sabines, the pre-eminence of Rome over the Latin Confederacy, and so on. The Gaulish

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conquerors, however savage they may have been, and however relentless on the battlefield, were still a minority compared with the subject people. The subject people, therefore, lived on. For the most part they were of the short Brown race, and, so far as it is possible to judge in the absence of definite information, they did not speak an Aryan tongue. They had been either wholly, or to a considerable extent, under Etruscan rule, and had imbibed more or less of the Etruscan creed and ritual. In after times they constituted the bulk of the Plebeians. It is quite possible that some of the Etruscans may have remained within the original Roman State. There may, for instance, have been clans among the Etruscans at war with one another, and the Gauls may have made terms with some of these for the purpose of ensuring their own complete victory. Whether that was so or not, we are not in a position to clear up. But there seems no ground for doubting that the Gaulish clansmen constituted the Patricians, the Brown race constituted the Plebeians, and it is possible, though quite uncertain, that there may have been a small element of Etruscans.

The foregoing theory is strengthened by the fact that the worship of ancestors, which was universal amongst the true and original Roman burghers, does not seem to have obtained with the Plebeians. This circumstance clearly indicates that a wide gulf separated the two classes before they became fused into one great people, and that they differed not merely in race, but also in religion. It is certain that worship of ancestors prevailed amongst the Gauls. One other piece of

evidence may be cited in support of the foregoing, namely, that the Patricians as a rule burned their dead, whereas the Plebeians as a rule buried them. This confirms the observation just made, that the two classes originally differed very widely in race, in religious beliefs, and in customs. While the fact that in so many ways the Patricians followed one mode of action or belief, and the Plebeians another, seems to demonstrate that each class belonged to a special race.

So far as I am aware, no political community, either in ancient or modern times, has ever existed except as a result of conquest. Modern research seems to have demonstrated that even the Egyptians, whose history as a civilised people goes back so far into the mists of antiquity, were themselves conquered before they emerged from savagery; that the conquerors in turn were conquered several times; but that they always threw off the yoke of the conquerors and recovered self-government. Similarly, it seems to be proved that the ancient Babylonians were conquered, and that it was under the conquerors that their highest civilisation was developed. The Israelites make no secret of the fact that they entered Canaan as conquerors. They boast, indeed, of it as proof that they were acting under the command of their God. It is unnecessary to produce other instances. Everybody whose knowledge of history is at all general, is aware that the history of every country which he studied begins with conquest. It may be objected that a great number of States have begun in colonisation. But what is colonisation but conquest? It is true that the Car-

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thaginians reported that they originally bought the territory on which they built their city from the native inhabitants; and there have been instances where the same thing has been done in modern times. But even where colonists were so weak that they had to make terms with the people whose land they intended to settle upon, no sooner did they become strong than they proceeded to conquer the natives. The real position of the community, then, rests upon conquest. It is so in the case of the United States, and of all our self-governing dominions, and it is equally true of every other country of which we know anything.

It may again be objected that the Italian Republics, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and Switzerland, not to speak of the United States, gained their independence, not by conquest, but by wars of liberation. But will that contention stand a moment's examination? The cities of Mediæval Italy had come down from the Romans. They were planted originally by conquest; and when they threw off their submission to the Emperors, they maintained their independence by force. Similarly, the Swiss and the Netherlanders were Aryan invaders, who had established a very considerable degree of independence before they defied their feudal rulers. In the same way, the thirteen original British Colonies in America were in reality Sovereign States. They had been founded sometimes by Puritans who left their native country because they were unwilling to submit to its religious persecution; sometimes they were founded directly by the Crown, or by Roman Catholics who also were flying from persecution; but always

they got possession of the greater part of their territory by conquest from the natives. Therefore, when the final struggle came with George the Third, it was a struggle between thirteen Sovereign States and the Sovereign of a very distant country. In early times it is inconceivable, in fact, that society, such as we know it, could have originated in any other way than by conquest. A body of Puritans flying from what they considered the persecution of the English Church might be willing to make terms with the natives, and might subsequently when they got strong enough make war upon the natives. But they had attained to a considerable degree of civilisation, and they brought with them the social organisation into which they had been born in England. If, however, we cast our minds back some hundreds of thousands of years, to the time when man had but recently emerged from his brute progenitors, when he lived by hunting and fishing, and when war was his only other occupation, is it conceivable that he would have allowed the majority of the tribe to which he belonged to be shut out completely from the ownership of the land if he was a free man? What really happened was that a savage tribe came upon another savage tribe for some reason or another less well prepared for successful war; conquered it; and, having slaughtered as many of its members as it cared to get rid of, made slaves of the remainder, and took possession of its lands. It vested the usufruct of the new territory in its own members, who thus became the aristocracy of the new State; and the subject people, having been deprived of all power of resistance,

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had to submit. Wherever, then, we find society divided into classes, the superior ruling over the inferior, and the inferior deprived of many of the rights possessed by the superior, we can conclude with certainty that that State originated in conquest.

Since Sir William Jones made Sanskrit known to the Western world, and thus revealed the surprising fact that Sanskrit, Persian, and Armenian are nearly related to all but two or three of the very numerous languages spoken throughout Europe, students have lost their heads. Not content with inquiring into all the issues that followed from so unexpected a discovery, they have jumped to the wildest and most extravagant conclusions. Amongst the rest, they have assumed that the Aryans are the salt of the earth called into being by Nature not only to rule the globe, but to fashion its destiny. It may, of course, be so. The man must be either very vain or very silly who would pretend to know all the secrets of Nature. If, instead of indulging in either idle discussion or mere assertion, we turn to an examination of what was accomplished by the Aryans previous to their arrival in Southern Europe, we find that, if we put aside the Greeks on the ground that it is too soon yet to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the result of recent explorations in Crete and Cyprus on certain points, such as: Were the civilisations, the remains of which have there been brought to light, really Greek in origin? Or did the Greeks only overturn a decaying political organisation, and become inoculated with the ideas and the knowledge that they had not originated? Until

these and similar questions can be answered it is premature to pass any judgment upon the intellectual capacity of the Greeks. Probably it will occur to the reader at this point that it would be well, likewise, to except the original speakers of Sanskrit. Competent authorities speak most appreciatively of the Vedic Hymns and of Indian philosophy. While it is a matter of common knowledge that some centuries before the Christian Era a religion, which at the present day is believed in by perhaps a larger number of persons than any other existing, was devised in Northern India. It is clear, then, that the original speakers of Sanskrit had in a very eminent degree both the poetic and the religious imagination, and that, likewise, they had extraordinary power of abstract thinking. On the other hand, the Sanskrit-speakers and their descendants to this day have failed utterly in all practical, worldly, useful capabilities. They have never written a history either of their own country or of any of its States. There are amongst the population of the vast Peninsula even at the present moment very large numbers of savages. The caste system is one of the most oppressive that ever has been devised and enforced for many centuries. And it presses with inhuman severity upon the outcasts. Lastly, neither the descendants of the original Sanskrit-speakers, nor any other race that until the other day held rule in India, has done anything material to increase knowledge, to develop the resources of the country, to raise the condition of mankind. The poverty of the great mass of the people is intense. Their ignorance is phenomenal. And their

superstition is such that they fiercely oppose the best and wisest efforts made to promote their welfare. With certain very high qualities, then, the Indian Aryans must be pronounced a complete failure. The same verdict must be passed upon the Persians and the Armenians. Like all branches of the Aryan family, the Sanskrit-speakers, the Persians, the Medes, and the Armenians had fine military qualities, but while those imply certain useful faculties, they are not of a very eminent order. Coming, in the next place, to the Teutons and the Slavs, we find that until some of the Barbarians settled down in the Western Empire, and others were conquered by the Franks with the aid of the Roman Church, they were in a state not very much higher than that at present of most of the settled negro tribes in the centre of Africa. We are safe, therefore, in concluding that the Gauls who made themselves masters of the Roman territory, and thereby laid the foundations of its subsequent greatness, were exceedingly backward likewise, and must have obtained from those they subdued and from their neighbours the civilisation which they subsequently spread so widely. The inevitable inference, namely, that the Brown race so often referred to stood higher in civilisation than their white conquerors need not in the least surprise us, if the early Egyptians were a branch of that race. Neither need we hesitate to draw the further conclusion that it is the Brown element in the populations of Europe to which is mainly due the progress that Europe unquestionably has made in the past few hundred years.

Summing up, then, the results at which we have

arrived in the course of the preceding inquiry, they may be stated as follows: The existence of man upon the earth goes back to a date so distant that it is impossible to state it in accurate figures. Some high authorities put it back more than a million of years, or to express it differently, to more than ten thousand centuries. Without, however, pinning ourselves to that or any other estimate, we may rest content with saying that his first appearance upon the globe is at a period of immense remoteness from the present.

Modern research seems to favour the conclusion that Paleolithic Man survived throughout the whole of the Glacial Period, and that Neolithic Man is his descendant, whether or not there occurred just before the Modern Period set in an irruption of conquerors from some distant region. In any event, the probability is very high that Neolithic Man is the successor of Paleolithic Man, and was acquainted with nearly all the inventions that had been made during the existence of the latter upon the globe.

The Mediterranean countries were inhabited at the beginning of the Modern Period by a Brown, long-headed race, which is supposed to be represented to-day by the Basques and the Berbers, and which it is highly likely included the early Egyptians, possibly also the Accadians, or originators of Mesopotamian civilisation. Recent research establishes that these same people in Southern Italy had attained to a considerable degree of civilisation; that they had manufactures; that they were artists; and that they had a fairly elaborate religion.

In the far-off distant past—when exactly cannot be

ascertained—the Etruscans settled along the western coast of the Italian Peninsula. They are supposed to have been foreigners, who came by sea. They had an elaborate ritual; they had developed a considerable art; and they were traders by sea, probably also pirates. Their language, their literature, and their arts have been lost. It is impossible to discover who they were, or whence they came.

Somewhat later the Greeks planted colonies in great numbers along the southern and western coast of Italy and in Sicily. But the Greeks did not found Rome, and did not contribute any perceptible element to the Roman people.

It is generally supposed that the Gauls entered the Peninsula later still. The supposition rests upon no substantial basis, while it seems to be contradicted by many circumstances. At all events, the Gauls did occupy the Alps; did pour down into the plains of Lombardy; and did establish their authority as far south as the Rubicon. In the course of their advance they came into collision with the Etruscans, whom they drove back into the modern Tuscany. During the struggle bands of Gauls passed down the Peninsula at the eastern side of the Tiber; came into collision with the Etrurians once more where Rome now stands; after a protracted struggle made good their footing; and settled in considerable numbers in Central Italy. Their later descendants were found not only in Rome but in Latium, Sabinia, and so on.

The Gaulish conquerors of the Roman territory were comparatively small in numbers. They found the territory inhabited by the Brown race and, no

doubt, they found, likewise, Etruscan nobles and land-owners in considerable numbers in it. For reasons that cannot now be discovered the Roman Gauls came to be separated completely from the Cis-Alpine Gauls. As a result, the Roman Gauls, who were subsequently known as Patricians, who had the whole power of government as well, indeed, as of the rights of citizenship in their own hands, courted the support of the subject populations, and in process of time the Roman people were evolved. The Latin language emerged partly through the natural development all languages are continually going through; but very largely, also, through its adoption by the subject peoples and by their bringing into common use vast multitudes of words from their own ancient tongue.

Judging by what they have done in India, Persia, Armenia, Germany, Scandinavia, and the vast regions occupied by the Slavs—everywhere, in short, where they have to this day been in the ascendant, with the exception of Greece—the Aryans did not possess high qualities, whether intellectual, artistic, social, or political. Consequently, it seems to follow that the inventive race—the race which has made real progress, and which has become exceptionally active—was not the white, or Aryan race, but the politically subject race—the Brown, long-headed race—members of which in Southern Italy, even so long ago as the new Stone Age, prayed upon their knees, disposed of their dead not by either burying or burning, but by laying them out upon couches, and which was advanced enough to be in possession of vases and other utensils.

Such are the results, stated in the briefest manner, to

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which we are led by the purely ethnological evidence producible at present, and the very scanty historical accounts that have survived through some thousands of years. It remains to check these results by an examination of the linguistic or philological evidence. The reader will clearly bear in mind that the fact that a people speaks a certain language does not in the least prove that that people is descended from the original speakers of that language. It is only necessary to remind anybody who hesitates to accept the warning that Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Roumanians all speak a neo-Latin tongue, but certainly are not Romans, with the exception, of course, of a certain portion of the Italian people. A still more striking proof of the statement is afforded by the fact that millions of negroes in the southern parts of the United States and the West Indies speak English, yet they most certainly are not of English descent. I am not, therefore, in producing the philological evidence asking the reader to believe that the speakers of Latin were necessarily of Aryan blood. I produce the evidence to show that, whoever brought the language into the Roman territory which in the shape we know it is called Latin, must have spoken a tongue practically identical with Gaelic. If I can convince the reader of that, I shall have solved the riddle as to the origin and composition of the Roman people. Whether anyone chooses to believe that the Gauls themselves were or were not of Aryan descent is not a matter pertinent to the argument, provided always that they did speak a language which is beyond all dispute Aryan.

CHAPTER IV

AFFINITY OF LATIN AND GAELIC

BEFORE proceeding to produce the philological evidence upon which I rely to prove the thesis I am here maintaining, I would again remind the reader that the task is rendered peculiarly difficult by the fact that the one language is fully and even highly developed, while the development of the other was cut short at a very early stage. Latin was the speech of a people who conquered the whole Mediterranean region and a considerable part of the hinterland; who continued, according to their own computation, to be an independent, conquering, and ruling race for 1100 years, leaving out of account the further continuance of the Eastern Empire. Naturally, as they increased their dominions they had to borrow a multitude of words from foreign sources, while it is reasonable to assume that they dropped a very large portion of their original vocabulary. They had to introduce new names for all sorts of things of which in the early days they knew nothing; for military, legal, administrative, social, and commercial technicalities, and so on. In addition to this, it is to be borne in mind that Latin gradually ceased to be a spoken language after the fall of the Western Empire. It continued, no doubt, in use amongst the learned. But

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that only means that it became fossilised. Furthermore, since the language ceased to be spoken so long ago, we are in ignorance of it as the tongue of the poorer classes. A few words are preserved by dramatists and others and in inscriptions. But practically we only know the learned language, which more or less in every country differs in some degree from the language of the great majority, and especially does not contain the right proportion of the simplest, most familiar, and therefore oldest words of the speech. In contra-distinction to this, Gaelic ceased to be written for the gentry, if I may be excused for using so inapplicable a word for the sake of bringing before the mind of the reader the contrast, about 250 years ago. It has been written, of course, by peasant poets down to the present day, and the poems had currency amongst the well-to-do who still retained a knowledge of the language. But it is to be recollected that the Tudors, Cromwell, and William the Third made a very clean sweep of the great Gaelic families. Several of them were left heritages, especially in Connaught. But it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole of the land was confiscated and passed from the clans to English and Scotch adventurers. The great majority of these latter always spoke English. The Gaelic poems and the Gaelic legends were, therefore, very nearly confined to the peasantry. The towns were all anglicised. It is quite true that several of the Gaelic families which preserved any portion of the clan lands continued to use, or at all events to know, Gaelic until quite recently. O'Connell notoriously preserved

a knowledge of it to the very last. And doubtless, O'Neills, O'Brians, O'Donnells, FitzGeralds, and Butlers here and there also continued to speak it. But as a broad, general statement, it is true that the language came to be confined to the peasantry. As a written language for the whole people, it may be said to have lost its character at the close of Charles the First's reign. We are comparing, then, with the highly developed Latin a language which so long as it was a really national language was the speech of a people who were still in the clan stage. After it had ceased to be a national tongue it was confined practically to the peasantry. Thus, we are comparing a tongue which is mainly the tongue of the poor with a language which, as known to us, is essentially the language of nobles, sovereigns, and great administrators.

There is only one other remark which need be interposed here. It is that I shall endeavour as far as possible to avoid alphabetical, grammatical, and phonetic discussion, so as not unduly to weary the reader. But some discussion of that kind is indispensable, if the argument is always to be made intelligible. Without further preface, then, I proceed to put forward the evidence.

The present Gaelic language has only seventeen letters. It has the ordinary five vowels: *a, e, i, o, u*; and these vowels may be either long or short, while diphthongs and triphthongs are common. There is no alphabetical difficulty, then, in representing almost any vowel sound. On the other hand, the

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language is strangely defective in its consonants, of which it has only twelve: *b, c, d, f, g, l, m, n, p, r, s, t*. The *c* is always pronounced as *k*, never as in the English word "city"; *s* is always pronounced as the *ss* in "miss"; *g*, likewise, is always hard as in "garden." The consonants being so few, Gaelic speakers, to give expression to all sounds common to every branch of the Aryans, were obliged to have recourse to modifications and combinations which make the printed language so uncouth-looking and so cumbersome that probably it accounts to a considerable extent for its decay. Undoubtedly, to anyone unacquainted with it, it appears upon opening a printed page as unattractive as a language well can be. Historically, of course, all the uncouthness can be fully and satisfactorily accounted for, while those who are familiar with the language have no difficulty in pronunciation. On the contrary, the pronunciation is exceptionally easy once its principles are understood.

Moreover, it is practically certain that in its early stage the alphabet was even more defective than it is at present, since it seems to have contained no letter *p*. The reader, I hope, will excuse me for dwelling upon this point; for it is a link in the argument I am about to put forward. Therefore, I ask his indulgence while I produce some proof of the statement just made. It shall be very short. I will first set out two columns of words: one, consisting entirely of Gaelic terms; the other, of Latin, with one Greek added. Unmistakably they are identical in origin, and it will be seen that the *p* is entirely

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absent in all the Gaelic words, while it is present in the others.

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Athair (father)	Pater
Ucht (breast)	Pect-us
Lāmh (hand)	Palma
Orc (pig)	Porc-us
Iasc (fish)	Pisc-is
Lān (full)	Plen-us
Ro (before)	Pro
Ar (upon)	Per
Sidhe (spirit)	Psyche (Greek)
Faol (wolf)	Vulp-es

There is one other Gaelic word, both noun and verb, I would bring to the notice of the reader, not only because I have no doubt myself that it is identical with the Latin word with which I shall compare it, but also because, if so, it throws some light upon the development of the religious system amongst the Gaelic branch of the Aryan-speakers who occupied Gaul and Ireland. It is spelt *eag*, and means "die" or "death." It is now obsolete. But it was commonly used by the Four Masters who compiled their work, chiefly consisting of extracts from older authors, in the reign of Charles the First. Again and again, an entry referring to some particular personage of distinction ends *d'eag se*, meaning "he died," and it is generally added at such and such a time; often, indeed, also at such and such a place. The Latin word of which I venture to say it is the original is *pecco*. The original Latin meaning seems to have been "to commit a fault." Gradually it came to mean "to sin." And, if *eag* is the same word, it came to mean in

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Gaelic "die" and "death." Does that imply that as the Druidic system developed, it became more severe, and serious offences against it implied death, either literally, or in the sense of expulsion from the clan?

The last Gaelic word in the list given above (*faol*) seems to have originally meant "wild, undomesticated." It continues to the present day to have that meaning when used as an adjective. But in process of time it came to be applied to wild animals, and just as the English word "deer" (German *thier*), originally a generic term, came gradually to be applied to "deer," so the word in Gaelic came to be applied to a wolf. In Latin, however, it means a fox. But it will be seen that in English and German it has the same meaning as in Gaelic.

To resume, however, the philological evidence. I next set out two columns, as before, the Gaelic on the left hand, and Latin, Greek, or English on the right. In the former, the *p* is represented by the letter *c*, whereas in the latter the *p* is always present. Thus:—

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Cuise (pulse)	Pulsa
Cos (foot)	Pes
Clann or cland (children)	Plant-a
Clumh (feather)	Plum-a
Cluan (a plain)	Plānus
Crudh (cattle)	Pred-a
Seacht (seven)	Sept-em
Oidhche (night)	Oedipos (Greek).
Sgeul (news, story)	Spell, as in "gospel."

It will be seen from the foregoing parallel columns that Gaelic belongs to the class of languages

which has been designated the *q* class. The designation is unfortunate, for, as a matter of fact, Gaelic has no letter *q* or *qu*. And when we are adopting a terminology we ought to strive to be accurate. Moreover, the letter *q* is nothing more than the aspirated or guttural *ch*. Therefore, it would be better to denominate the class the *c* class, which would cover not only Gaelic, but to a certain extent, at all events, Latin likewise; for there are clear proofs that, if Latin at one time did not fully belong to the *c* class, there went on within it a competition between *c* and *p*. For example, the numeral "7" is spelt in Gaelic *seacht*, and in Latin *sept-em*. On the other hand the numeral "5" is spelt in Gaelic *cuig*, and in Latin *quinque*. Clearly, therefore, even so early as while the numerals were being adopted in Latin *c* and *p* were in competition. Lest any reader might suppose that this was an exceptional case, I may add that the English word "steed" is in Gaelic, *eich*; in Latin, *equ-us*; while in Greek it is *hippos*. I would venture to suggest, furthermore, that the Latin word *laus*, like the Gaelic word *athair*, affords an example of a syllable from which both the *c* and the *p* are absent. In Gaelic *clu* means "fame, praise, reputation"; and the word would, according to analogy in the great majority of vocables in Latin, appear as *plau-s*. The Latin *laus* is explained in the dictionaries exactly as is the Gaelic *clu*. It is difficult, therefore, to resist the conviction that the two words are identical, and that, consequently, the Latin *laus* and *laudo* are older than the Latin *plau-do*,

which, though very similar in signification, yet is not quite the same. In support of what has just been said, I would remind the reader that there is a Latin word *clau-s*, which, according to the dictionaries, means "named, spoken of." It cannot seriously be doubted, then, that the Latin *clau-s* is identical with the Gaelic *clu*, and that the Latin *laus* is only the Gaelic *clu* with both *c* and *p* left out. It follows from the above that while Gaelic belongs to the *c* class there was a time in the far distant past when a struggle went on between the *c* and the *p* for possession. In the majority of cases, *c* held its ground in Gaelic, while *p* established itself in Latin. But in both languages we have evidence of the reality of the struggle, inasmuch as there are in the one and the other still remaining words from which both *c* and *p* have been ejected. Moreover, in Latin we have words in which *c*, like the Basques in the Pyrenees, has held its ground successfully through all the centuries in spite of the general pre-eminence gained by *p*.

More than this, there are good grounds for believing that even in Gaelic *p* had gained some footing before St. Patrick's time, when it is generally agreed that the *p* was first introduced in the great majority of cases in which it is found in the Irish and Scotch Gaelic. There are two very old words in Gaelic in which *p* is found. The first of them is *corp*, meaning "body." It has been in use from time out of mind, and it has so permanently established itself in the Irish mind that even to-day the English-speaking

peasantry talk of going to the *corp*-house, meaning to the house in which the dead is being waked. Moreover, it forms part of the term used in the Brehon laws to signify the fine or compensation paid by the kindred of the murderer to the kindred of the person murdered to prevent the death feud. As such compensation had been regularly paid for an unknown length of time before Christianity was introduced, or indeed established in the world, it is difficult to believe that the technical term for it could have been changed by the Roman priests, though, of course, it is not to be disputed that they did exercise an influence upon the system of compensation. This argument is so strong that one hesitates to dispute that *corp* must have been an original Gaelic word. On the other hand, it may be objected that Catholic priests must constantly have employed the Latin word *corp-us*, else how could they have administered the Sacrament? As, furthermore, Christianity gained the victory almost without a struggle, and as monasteries grew up all over the island, the word, being so constantly in the mouth of the priest, it may be urged that it was taken up by worshippers and generally adopted. The argument on both sides being thus cogent, it is not easy to decide whether *corp* was, or was not, of Gaelic origin. The case is different, however, in the second word, which is *teampoll*, meaning "temple." It is a very old Gaelic word. There are few words in the language, indeed, which enter more widely into place names in Ireland, as, for example, Templemore, the great temple, and Templederry, the oak temple. It is hardly credible

that the Roman ecclesiastics who converted the Irish would have brought with them the word "temple" with all its associations with Paganism. They and their successors exerted themselves to the utmost to root out everything that would be likely to keep alive the memory of heathenism. They went so far as practically to set themselves to revise and cook the old legends, so as to make them in some cases almost unintelligible, in their zeal to hide from the young everything that would give information concerning old beliefs. Consequently, it is incredible that when Christianity gave new names to the Christian places of worship all over the Continent, the Roman ecclesiastics would have imported the pagan term *teampoll* into Ireland. In addition to this, it is to be recollected that the Druids must have had a somewhat elaborate ritual, and that they celebrated their rites with a great deal of pomp. The reader will remember the picture which Cæsar draws of the position held by the Druids in Gaul; how they were able to impose their decisions upon chiefs and clans; how, in short, they exercised almost as much influence as did the Christian priests in after times. Moreover, it will be borne in mind that the Druidic system extended not only over Gaul, but over Britain and Ireland as well. That being so, it is impossible to believe that they had not old venerated temples of some kind. If they had, it is surely not to be believed that the word was so completely rooted out of the minds of the people that there is not a trace of it in the earliest Gaelic records. It would seem to follow from all this that *teampoll* must be a native

Gaelic word. Certainly there is no other word in the language that can now be identified as possibly the native name for the Druidic places of worship.

There are four words which are translated into English by the word "church." One of them is *eaglais*, which is manifestly the Greek *ecclesia*; the second is *cill*, which is generally supposed to be the Latin word *cella*; the third is *damh*. It is likewise a very old word. It enters into the name of the town Duleek in the county of Meath. The original form of this name consisted of two words, namely, *damh*, the last three letters of which are pronounced as *ow* in English, and *liag*, "a stone." The compound, *damhliag*, is usually translated "the stone church," it being said that the first stone church erected in Ireland was built there; that a town grew up around it, and took the name of the church. Whether *damh* really means a church I am very doubtful. I am, moreover, uncertain whether it was in origin Gaelic or Latin. Clearly, it is identical with the Latin *dom-us*. It is hardly probable that the Roman ecclesiastics would have given it the meaning "church." Furthermore, I remember no other instance in which the word is used for church. Generally, it means a house or structure. The fourth of the words standing for an ecclesiastical building is *teampoll*. *Eaglais* may be put aside altogether. It is clearly in Ireland a Christian and foreign word. *Cill* may be Latin or it may have been a Gaelic word, for it is to be recollected that if there were many recluses as well as monasteries in Christian times, there had been also recluses and brotherhoods in pagan

times. Moreover, the history of the four words in modern times seems to show that *teampoll* was an indigenous word. After the Reformation and the complete subjugation of the clans it will be remembered that a strenuous and ruthless effort was made to root out Roman Catholicism, and that for a while the law forbade priests to live in Ireland. Consequently, the Catholic worship in public ceased. But the name *teampoll* continued to be applied to the old places of worship. It may be, of course, that this was simply because the old names clung to the old places. But it seems much more probable that in pagan and Christian times alike *teampoll* was the name for the principal place of worship of the immediate district. In any event, when the Roman Catholic worship came to be permitted again, *teampoll* continued to be applied to the Protestant places of worship, and not to the new places of Catholic worship. They were called either *eaglais*, or *cill*, or, wherever English was spoken, chapel. The Protestant place of worship to the English-speakers was the church; to the Gaelic-speakers, it was *teampoll*. All of which seems to show that it was not only an indigenous Gaelic word, but was also the word which in the minds of Gaelic speakers implied the official place of worship. If the force of this argument be allowed, it follows that before St. Patrick's time *p* in Irish Gaelic had gained a footing. If that was the case, it seems almost inevitable that there must have been *p* words in the Gaelic spoken by those who conquered and settled in Central Italy.

Professor Ridgway, disregarding the competition

thus shown to exist between *q* and *p* in the earliest stages in the formation of Latin, and noting only the prominent place which *p* ultimately won, suggests that the element in the composition of the Roman people which introduced Latin was the Sabine. The Sabines, he adds, spoke a *p* language. There are three insurmountable objections to this theory. The first is, that it is built upon the old Roman legendary tales which before the time of Niebuhr were accepted as genuine history. Manifestly, we cannot reject as much of those legends as do not suit our purpose, and accept as fact such as do. It is, no doubt, true that usually there is some basis of fact for every legend. Unfortunately, however, we cannot disentangle the facts from the fictions. Consequently, all have to go by the board. It may possibly be that there was a Sabine element in the Roman people, but there is no end to the possibilities that might be started. The only safe way is to put all of them aside as unproved. The second insurmountable objection is that very little is known of the Sabine tongue. Recent research has, of course, happily increased our knowledge. But that knowledge is still so scanty that the Professor's theory is a very sweeping deduction from exceedingly slender premises. The third fatal objection is that, even if we were to accept the theory, it would not answer the question, Who were the Romans? For immediately another question would arise, Who were the Sabines, and where did they come from? In an earlier chapter it has been pointed out that no trace can be found of a Latin branch of the Aryan languages anywhere outside

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Central Italy. It is as certain as anything can be that Central Italy was not the birthplace of the Aryans. If it was not, and if there existed a Latin branch of those peoples, they must have advanced over immense distances before they reached Central Italy. Yet they have not left anywhere a vestige of their passage. In contrast to all this, we know that the people who, towards the end of the second millennium before Christ and the beginning of the first, were the most pushing and most successful of all colonisers, had actual possession of North Italy. We know, further, that, on the admission of the Romans themselves, a band of that very people marched from North Italy to Rome and captured and sacked the City. We know, thirdly, that wherever the Gauls settled they pushed out branches in every direction. Therefore, it is an irresistible inference that having come to Central Italy they did not lightly abandon it. On the contrary, every reasonable probability suggests that they settled down there in some strength. It is quite possible, as the above brief analysis of the Latin tongue suggests, that there were speakers of a *p* language and speakers of a *c* language among the Gauls who founded Rome. I am not in the least concerned to dispute that. So, again, it is quite possible that the Sabines were a clan or clans who marched under Brennus, and who settled in the region that afterwards was known by their name. But all these guesses lead nowhere. If we are to arrive at the truth, we must reason scientifically. And scientific reasoning must rest upon indisputable facts, or else must proceed from theories which are admitted to be suggested by facts

but not proved by them, and, therefore, are used only as working hypotheses. The only undisputed facts relating to Rome are: that what we may call for want of a better name the aborigines were dark complexioned, and did not speak an Aryan speech; that the Etruscans, if they did not hold the left bank as well as the right of the Lower Tiber, were at all events very close neighbours. The general belief, moreover, is that the Etruscans did not speak an Aryan tongue. Furthermore, the Greeks did not contribute to the founding of Rome. We are thus driven back perforce upon the one great conquering and colonising people, who were within easy marching distance of the City, and who admittedly captured it. The legend of the defeat of the victorious Gauls may be dismissed, like the Rape of the Sabines and the suckling of Romulus by a wolf.

Professor Rhys, again, contends that the Gauls were not Gaels. That is one of the theories which it is impossible either to prove or to disprove. Presumably, the name Galli given to them by the Romans was the name which they themselves assumed. Even if, for the sake of argument, we put aside the conclusion that the Roman Patricians were descended from the Gauls, and grant that the Latin name for the latter came to them, not directly from the Gauls, but through some other people, say, the Etruscans, who were in immediate contact with the Gauls, but yet gave them a name which was alien to the Gauls themselves—just, for example, as the French still call the Germans, not after the native German

name, but after the Allemanni—it would not follow that the Gauls were not Gaels. All that would follow would be that the wrong name persisted in Rome through the force of habit. In spite of that it would remain incredible that Cæsar, who took the trouble amid all the cares, anxieties, and exertions of an exceptionally active and busy life to write an account of his conquest of Gaul, could have remained ignorant of the native name of the Gaulish people. It is not to be supposed that he learnt Gaulish. But it is certain that he was assisted by friendly Gaulish clans; that he was in constant communication with them; and that he formed so high an opinion of Gaulish valour and Gaulish help that he half filled the Senate with Gaulish chiefs when he became master of Rome. That being so, he must have been intimately acquainted with the name which the Gauls gave to themselves and to their country. If he was, is it not incredible that throughout the whole of his book he never mentions that they called themselves by a different name? To this it may be objected that the word Galli does not contain the *d* of which Professor Rhys and those with whom he agrees make so much. The objection raises a question which it is impossible now to settle. At the present time Gaelic-speaking persons call themselves *Gaedheal* in the singular, and the same or with the termination *a* in the plural. But they do not pronounce the *d*. They pronounce the word as in two syllables, but the break between the syllables is so very slight that only a sharp ear can

catch it. The question then raised by Professor Rhys is, Did the Gauls, supposing them to have been Gaelic in the time of Cæsar, pronounce the *d*, or had they already silenced it? If they had silenced it, Cæsar, we may suppose, knew whatever he did know of the language only from conversations; and, consequently, it never would have occurred to him to introduce the *d*. Furthermore, if it be objected that he spells the first syllable always with *a*, it is to be borne in mind that the Scotch Gaels pronounce the word differently from the Irish, and very many of them pronounce it as *a* long, somewhat as in "father."

Professor Rhys' theory raises a number of difficulties. Supposing that Galli and Gaedheal were not identical, but that the Galli were really Cymric-speakers, how are we to account for the fact that, while the word Galli at once suggests the word Gael, no one would ever think of any form of Welsh on hearing Galli? Furthermore, if the Gauls in Italy, France, and Spain all called themselves Galli, and if, at the same time, they were not Gaels, how does it come to pass that the word Galli has utterly died out, and that in Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Scotch Highlands Gael remains and has been in existence for at least two thousand years? The probable explanation of the difficulty felt by Professor Rhys and continental philologists is that the Galli spoke a *c* language; that, advancing from the Russian plains, they came into communication with the short, Brown race referred to before, conquered and assimilated them; in the course of the assimilation the Aryan speech of the

conquerors of Rome had to admit a large number of Basque words; and that the conquered people in Rome forming the large majority of the population gradually imposed many of their own peculiarities—alphabetical, phonetic, and grammatical—and that out of this grew up, firstly, the various Aryan tongues spoken in Central Italy; that as the speakers of these were conquered and absorbed by Rome, the Latin language gathered all others to itself; and that the Latin, as we know it, came into being.

In support of this theory, it may be pointed out that every vigorous people sprung from an amalgamation such as has been suggested always retains a fear and respect for the nation from which their conquerors came, and always desires to master it. From the time of the Conquest the English desire was for supremacy in France. During the reigns of the first two Plantagenets the desire was natural; the Plantagenet territories in France were so extensive, while those of the nominal King of France seemed so insecure. But even when the motherlands of both Normans and Plantagenets were lost, the old desire lasted. Indeed, until quite the other day France was always the nation most feared and most usually opposed. The case was very similar with the Germans. A small Teutonic tribe, entering Gaul and accepting orthodox Christianity, was taken up by the Pope, who acted as a kind of recruiting-sergeant for the Franks. He thus enabled them to drive out the Goths and the Burgundians. Later still, under Charlemagne, the countenance and active support of the Pope enabled the Franks not

only to conquer Lombardy, but to conquer and forcibly convert to Christianity the heathen Germans. From that day to this, the first thought of the Germans has been the attitude of France. Here in England it is quite manifest that, on the principles that usually determine the conduct of statesmen, the true policy of the Normans was not to waste their strength in endeavouring to conquer France, but to extend their sway over the whole British Islands. It was long, however, before they recognised the fact. In the same way the true interest of the Germans was not to humble France, but to extend their own rule over the Slavs and to expel the Turks from Europe. Most thoughtful Germans recognise that now. But how many Germans saw it in the past? We have, then, in the attitude of the Romans convincing proof of the Gaulish influence in building up Rome. It is to be recollected that, even till the time of Cæsar, a special war chest was kept by the Romans in one of their temples, and that the guardian of the chest disputed with the great Triumvir when the latter seized the chest, but was silenced by the Master of the Republic with the retort that a war chest against the Gauls was no longer needed since he had conquered them. The feeling of the Roman people towards the Gauls; the dread they entertained of them long after Gallia Cis-Alpina had been subdued; and the special measures they adopted to guard against a Gaulish invasion; all strengthen the argument that the people who introduced an Aryan tongue into Rome were the Gauls. But it is time to return to the philological evidence.

CHAPTER V

AFFINITY OF LATIN AND GAELIC (*continued*)

I SUPPOSE there is nothing that more clearly demonstrates the near affinity of two languages than the presence in both of peculiar forms of expression which are entirely alien to other tongues—which often, indeed, when first heard by a foreigner excite his derision. One of these peculiar turns is the use of the conjunction “and” for “when,” “even when,” or “while.” Many English visitors to Ireland, and especially to those parts of the island where the common everyday use of English is only now becoming prevalent, have probably heard, and smiled on hearing, a very general satirical proverb originally Gaelic, and translated literally into English as follows: “Life is precious, as the tailor said, and he running from the gander.” Now this extremely peculiar form of expression is used by one of the very greatest of Latin writers, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. It may be objected that the writer was a native of Gallia Cis-Alpina. But he was also an exquisite poet. As such it is incredible that he would have employed in the greatest of his works a form of expression which would have shocked the ear or offended the taste of polite Rome. If that much be admitted, the form of expression could not have been unusual. If it was not,

it is difficult to conceive any piece of evidence that would more clearly establish the Gaulish origin of the ruling class in Rome.

To strengthen the evidence afforded by this phrase, it may be added that in modern Gaelic there is no verb "to have." "Have" is expressed by the verb "to be," a preposition and a personal pronoun. Thus: "I have" is in Gaelic *ta agam*. *Ta* means "is"; *agam* consists of the preposition *ag*, "to" or "at," and the personal pronoun "me." Literally, it means "There is to (or at) me." In Gaelic it always has the signification "I have." Now every student of Latin will remember that although the Romans had a distinct verb "to have," they very often employed, likewise, *est mihi*, to express "I have." If the Gaulish-speakers had no verb "to have," or if, for some reason or other, they rarely made use of it, it would be natural that the Roman Patricians should continue to employ the old Gaulish phrase *est mihi* for "I have." But it is hardly credible that, being in possession of a verb "to have," they would also go out of their way for no conceivable purpose to invent such an awkward way of expressing "I have" by the phrase *est mihi*. If that be so, is it possible to suppose that two separate branches of the Aryan-speaking peoples invented independently two such strange forms of expression as the using of the conjunction "and" for "when," "even when," or "while," and the using of the verb "to be" with a dative form or a preposition and personal pronoun to convey the idea "have"? If such forms were found in languages spoken at

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great distances from one another, the discoverer would most certainly assume that there must at one time have been a close connection between the two. But when we find that a Gaulish-speaking people were so close to Rome as the Rubicon, is it possible to doubt that these peculiar forms of expression were imported into Rome by the Gauls?

The termination of the nominative of nouns in Gaelic sometimes is *as*, identical with the Latin *us*, as in *ocras* (hunger); or it is *aire*, or *ire*, which is the Latin *er*; or it is *or*, *oir*, *tor*, or *toir*, as the Latin *or*, or *tor*. Adjectives are very commonly formed by adding *ach* to a noun, the Latin *ax* or *ox*. Nouns, again, are formed from such adjectives by adding *t*, the Latin *tas*. Once more, the Gaelic word *amhail*, meaning "like," which is, in fact, only an abbreviation of *samhail*, also meaning "like," the Latin *similis*, is often added to nouns to form adjectives. Compare the Latin *ilis*. Thus, *fear*, "man," by adding *amhail*, becomes *fearamhail*, "manly," or "manlike." Compare the Latin *virilis*. Not to weary the reader by heaping example on example, I will only add that the dative plural in very many Gaelic words ends with *ibh*. Compare the Latin *bus*. There is no ablative in Gaelic, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that the same form is made to do service both for the dative and the ablative. The terminations just referred to, the formation of adjectives in the way stated, and the peculiar forms of dative both in Gaelic and in Latin, if they stood alone, might be pooh-poohed on the ground that the Roman missionaries who converted the Irish to

Christianity gave an extraordinary stimulus to education, and that between the conversion and the invasion of the Norsemen there was unprecedented literary activity in the island. Consequently, it might be argued that the study of Latin was so promoted by the early Irish ecclesiastics that an imitation of Latin forms was introduced. As we have no manuscripts earlier than St. Patrick's time, it is impossible, of course, to say whether this line of argument is true or false. All that can be said with certainty is that it is out of the question that Roman priests could have introduced such peculiar forms of expression as have been given above, and could also have changed completely the declension of nouns as well as the principles on which adjectives were formed.

Before passing from peculiarities common to the two languages, it may be worth while to call attention to a couple of other points. It will be in the recollection of our readers that in Latin poetry a vowel which in other cases may be either long or short, is always long when it comes immediately before two consonants. In Gaelic there is a somewhat similar rule. In Munster, for example, in words of one syllable a vowel coming before *nn*, *ll*, or *rr*, is not merely long, but it changes its proper vowel sound, and assumes that of a diphthong. Thus, the Gaelic word *domn*, which means "brown," is pronounced as it would be in English were the *o* spelt *ow*, as the corresponding diphthong is spelt and pronounced in the English equivalent. In Connaught, the diphthong sound is not substituted, but the vowel is lengthened. In Ulster, there is neither lengthening nor

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substitution of a diphthong sound. In the Northern Highlands, however, there is again a very perceptible lengthening of the vowel. Evidently, therefore, the rule which prevails in Munster once was observed by all Gaelic speakers.

The second point to which I would call attention is that *n* coming before *d* in the same syllable in Gaelic always silences the *d* sound, and causes the word to be pronounced as if *nn* were substituted for *nd*. Thus, the original Gaelic word for English "clan," may be spelt either *clann* or *cland*. The belief amongst the best Irish scholars is that the latter was the original spelling. In the same way, *d* coming immediately before *l* is pronounced as if it were *l*. Thus, the Gaelic word for "sleep" is *codla*, and is pronounced as if *l* was substituted for *d*; whereas the very same word, if *a* is interposed between *d* and *l*, *codal*, causes the *d* to be fully pronounced. The reader will remember how the prefix *con* in Latin becomes *col* when it immediately precedes a word beginning with *l*.

Having called attention to these peculiarities in phrases, declensions, sounds of vowels, &c., I append lists of Gaelic words with their English equivalents in one column, giving opposite to them the Latin. Manifestly, the two lists of words are identical in origin :

THE NUMERALS

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Áon (one)	Un-us
Dō (two)	Duo
Tri (three)	Tres
Ceathair (four)	Quatuor

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Cũig (five)	Quinque
Sē (six)	Sex
Seacht (seven)	Sept-em
Ocht (eight)	Oct-o
Naoi (nine)	Nov-em
Deich (ten)	Dec-em
Fiche (twenty)	Vigintē
Cēud (hundred)	Cent-um
Mile (thousand)	Mille

These two lists call for very little comment. No one who has any knowledge of the other Aryan languages can for a moment entertain a doubt that Latin and Gaelic are more closely related than is Latin with any other European Aryan tongue, whether Greek, Teutonic, or Slavonic. Nor can there be a doubt either that the two languages are more closely connected than is either with any Asiatic Aryan tongue. The two lists of words, in short, are so nearly identical that the conviction is forced upon the student that the speakers of one influenced the speakers of the other in a striking way. I venture to think that the lists I now propose to add will strengthen the conviction, and ultimately lead to the conclusion that Latin is derived from the Celtic.

I will give next a few prepositions, adverbs, &c. Thus:

PREPOSITIONS, ADVERBS, &c.

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Acht (but)	Aut
As (of, or out of)	Ex
An (a negative prefix)	In
Cum (with)	Cum

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<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
De (of)	De
Eader, or Eidair (between)	Inter
Di (prefix) }	Dis
Mi (prefix) }	
Ni, or Na (not)	Ne
Nach (not)	Nec
O (out of)	E
Ro (before)	Pro
Ro Intensive particle (prefix)	Re
Tre (through)	Trans

PERSONAL AND OTHER PRONOUNS

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Mē (I)	Ego
Tu (thou)	Tu
Sē (he) }	Third singular wanting
Sī (she) }	
Sinn (we)	Nos
Sibh (you, or ye)	Vos
Siad (they)	Third plural wanting

While there is no proper personal pronoun for the third person either in the singular or in the plural in Latin, the reflective verbs show that it once existed, and was identical with the Gaelic word *sē*. Moreover, the possessive pronouns for "his," "hers," and "theirs" show plainly that either the earliest Latin carried over with it the Gaelic *se* and *si*, or else that, while it rejected the actual personal pronouns, it employed them in connection with reflective verbs, and it also carried over in its entirety the adjectival forms. In addition to this, it will be noticed that the plural forms of the personal pronouns in Gaelic and in Latin differ only because of the fact that the spelling is reversed in either the one language or the other. In Gaelic the first person plural *sinn* begins with *s* and

ends with *n* ; whereas the first person plural in Latin begins with *n* and ends with *s*. Similarly, the second person plural in Gaelic begins with *s* and ends with *bh*, a combination which is pronounced exactly as *v* is in English. In the same way, the Latin corresponding word begins with *v* and ends with *s*. Manifestly, therefore, the personal pronouns are as identical as the numerals. Passing now to the possessive pronouns, they are :

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Mo (mine)	Me-us
Do (thine)	Tu-us
A (his, or hers)	Su-us
Ar (ours, our)	Nos-ter
Bhur (your, or yours)	Vester
A (their, or theirs)	Su-us

DEMONSTRATIVE, &c.

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
So (this)	Is
Ud, or sud (that)	Id
Cia (who)	Qui, or Quis
Cad (what)	Quod
Ca (where)	Quo
Eile (other)	Ali-us
Eader, or Eidar (either)	Ceter-us

There is one other Gaelic pronoun, *eadh*, which is frequently used in answering a question in the affirmative. There is in Gaelic no such word as "yes"; but *is-eadh*, or as it is usually pronounced in speaking '*seadh*, pronounced very quickly and very shortly, is frequently used for "it is," or "yes." The word is clearly identical with the Latin *ea*, in *is*, *ea*, *id*.

In the next place two columns are set out of religious

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and mythical words, Gaelic on the left hand, and the corresponding Latin on the right :

RELIGIOUS AND MYTHICAL

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Dia (God)	Deus
Una (name of a Gaelic goddess)	Juno
Mart (a steer)	Mars, martis
Neamh (the sky, heaven)	Num-en
Naomh (holy, a saint)	Numa Pompilius
Geal (bright shining) }	Cael-um
Gealach (the moon) }	
Lāir (the hearth)	Lares
Saor (an artificer, skilled, a seer)	Sacer
Fianna, Fionn, or Fiond (legendary heroes)	Vent-us
Faidh (a prophet)	Vat-is

KINSHIP

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Athair (father)	Pater
Māthair (mother)	Mater
Brāthair (brother)	Frater
Siūr (sister)	Sor-or
Clann, or Cland (children)	Planta
Cine, or Cineadh (race, tribe)	Gen-s
Treabh (race, tribe)	Trib-us

The first three of these words are found in most Aryan languages. But that for "sister" varies a good deal. In Gaelic and Latin it is unmistakably identical, the Gaelic word constituting the first syllable in the Latin word. It seems very curious that the name for "son" varies so much in the Aryan family of languages. Beforehand, one would expect it to be reproduced at least as invariably as any word in any language, especially considering the prevalence of the *Patria*

potestas amongst all Aryans. Perhaps, however, it is the very universality of *Patria potestas* that explains what at first sight seems so unaccountable. All the male descendants of the head of a family remained subject to the *Patria potestas* throughout their lives, or until any one of them himself became head of a family. Consequently, sons, grandsons, and even great-grandsons, were, in the eyes of the law and of public opinion, practically upon the same level in regard to the head of the family. Possibly, therefore, the original Aryan word for "son" came to be employed for all males subject to the *Patria potestas*, and thus became so vague that new terms had to be introduced. To illustrate this, it may be mentioned that after the Irish were converted to Christianity, monasticism, according to the clan system, spread over the island with wonderful quickness, and the members of each brotherhood were not only brothers between themselves, and addressed as such by the lay community, but they were so in a particular sense; being fellow-clansmen they were really regarded as near kinsmen. To distinguish, then, between the blood brother and the clerical brother, the phrase was introduced *dearbh brathair*, meaning genuine brother. Used as a single word, and pronounced quickly, one hearing it spoken for the first time, however well he might know the language from books, would never recognise it. But it is in common use in the mouths of the peasantry. Something similar to this probably occurred in all the Aryan languages in regard to the word signifying "son" in the far distant past. And the supposition is made all the more pro-

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bable since even to-day in Gaelic *ua*, or *o*, so common in Irish names, like O'Brien and O'Donnell, means grandson or descendant. It is palpably the same word as the Greek *hui-os*. In the latter case it really means a son. In the Gaelic it has come to mean a grandson, or indeed any male descendant. This leads naturally to the question, Is the Gaelic word for son (*Mac*) identical with the Latin word *Amic-us*? The meanings of the two words have come to differ very widely. But the Latin, coming immediately from the verb "to love," would seem more probably to have originally meant "son" than merely "a friend." Perhaps some better qualified philologist may be able to throw light upon the question.

Next are given two parallel columns in the usual order, showing the names of other human relations, members of the body, clothes, weapons, &c. :

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Rìgh (king)	Rex
Tìgherna (lord)	Tyrann-us
Fear (man)	Vir
Bean (woman)	Ven-us
Caile (woman)	Puella
Bàr (boy)	Puer
Bàrd (bard)	Bard-us
Anam (soul, life)	Anim-us
Criodh (heart)	Cor
Ucht (breast)	Pect-us
Cioch (breast)	Pap-illa
Cuisle (pulse)	Pulsa
Sùil (eye)	Sol
Gob, or Cab (mouth)	Cap-ut
Caoil (waist)	Coll-um
Làmh (hand)	Palma
Cos (foot)	Pes
Leath (side)	Lat-us

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Cùl (back)	Re-cul-o, Pro-cul
Drom (back)	Tergum
Sàl (heel)	Salio, Sallii, Salto
Glùn (knee)	Genu
Ainm (name)	Nom-en
Gràdh (love)	Grat-ia
Dilis (dear)	Dulc-is
Mian (will, wish)	Mens
Àil (will)	Vol-o
Fios (knowledge)	Vis-um
Brìgh (strength)	Vig-or
Bàs (death)	Patior, Pass-um
Gàire (laughter)	Gaudere
Caoine (lamentation)	Poena
Iar (ask)	Or-o
Creac (talk, chat)	Prec-o
Labhair (speak, say)	Loqu-or
Radh (say)	Rhetor
Caint (talk)	Can-o
Feic (see)	Vide
Ith (eat)	Esse
Àr (plough, till)	Aro
Aràn (bread)	Farina
Suan (deep sleep)	Somn-us
Gloir (fame)	Glor-ia
Onoir (honour)	Honor
Clu (applause)	Laus
Fuam (noise)	Fama
Coir (upright, honest)	Purus
Lagh (law)	Lex
Fàilte (welcome)	Val-e
Slàn (well, healthy) }	San-us
Sonas (happiness) }	
Cara (friend)	Car-us
Obair (work)	Opus
Tuam (tumulus, tomb, &c.)	Tumulus
Saoghal (the world, life)	Secul-um
Aos (age)	Aet-as
Sean (old)	Sen-eo
Suidhe (sit)	Sed-eo
Stadt (stay, stop)	Sto
Luidhe (lie)	Leg-o
Teidh (go)	Ite

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Cog (make war)	Cog-eo
Ār (satire)	Ira
Caisiol (stronghold)	Castel-um
Cathair (city, fortified place)	Castr-um
Grāig (village)	Grex
Teach (house)	Tect-um
Cōta (coat)	Toga
Claidhaimh (sword)	Gladi-us
Timpān (Irish musical instrument)	Timpan-um

If I am right in regarding *labhair* as the original of the Latin *loquor*, it affords another illustration of the fact that while Latin was being formed a struggle was going on between the framers of that language for the supersession of *c* or *qu* by *p*. It has been shown already that, generally speaking, Latin is a *p* language, while Gaelic belongs to the *c* class; but that there are instances in both where the *p* is omitted without any other letter taking its place. More often, however, the *p* is replaced either by *c*, or by *qu*. Yet there are other times when the *p* is represented by *b*, as in the case of *bar*, Latin *puer*. In the instance now before us, it is quite clear that the *p* is in Gaelic represented by *b*; while in Latin it is represented by *qu*. Furthermore, it may be worth while to point out that while *loquor* is usually treated by grammarians as a verb, active in meaning, but passive in form, this view of the matter, if the theory here put forward is correct, has no foundation in fact. What really happened, was that in framing Latin, the Gaelic form was taken over bodily, while the usual Latin termination was not added. In the course of time all this was forgotten, and as the Latin conjugations had probably then been generally fixed, the earliest gram-

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marians endeavouring to classify took for granted that *loquor* was a passive form.

Next come words relating to time, set out in parallel columns as before :

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Am (time)	Im (as in "interim")
Aimsir (time, weather)	Imbris
Feacht (time)	Vet-us
Tim (time)	Temp-us
Ūair (time)	Hora
Dia (Day)	Dies
Lā (day)	Lux
Maidin (morning)	Matutin-us
Feascar (evening)	Vesper
Nocht (night)	Nox
Mi (month)	Men-sis

Next in order follow, set out as usual in parallel columns, the names of

ANIMALS, &c.

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Ēich (horse)	Equ-us
Marc (horse)	Marc-us
Marcach (horseman)	
Asain or Asal (ass)	Asin-us
Taraibh (bull)	Taur-us
Bo (cow)	Bos
Buachaill (cowboy, boy)	Bucolicus
Uan (lamb)	Agn-us
Orc (swine)	Porc-us
Gabhar (goat)	Caper
Cu, Cona (hound, hounds)	Can-is
Cat (cat)	Cat-us
Coil-each (cock)	Gall-us
Coinin (rabbit)	Cunic-ulus.
Faol (wolf)	Vulp-es
Luch (mouse)	Lup-us
Iasc (fish)	Pisc-is

The second last word in the above list is worth noting as showing how a generic term comes to be

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applied to a species and how, in the process, different choices are made by different speakers. Thus, the word which in Gaelic means so comparatively harmless a creature as a mouse, in Latin is applied to a comparatively formidable animal like the wolf.

Next in order come words having reference to things terrestrial :

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Tír (land, earth)	Terra
Talamh (land, soil)	Tell-us
Alba (Gaelic name for Scotland)	Alba Longa
Baile (town, hamlet)	Vill-a
Inis (island)	Ins-ula
Muir (sea)	Mare
Tonn (a wave)	Ton-ans
Abhaim, Amhaim (river)	Amn-is
Uisge (water)	Aqua
Loch (lake)	Lac-us
Maol (hill)	Mol-es
Gort (cultivated field)	Hort-us
Féur (grass)	Ver
Óir (east)	Oriens
Íar (west)	Ierne, hibernia
Fáil (hedge, fence)	Vall-um
Crann (tree)	Grand-is
Craobh (branch)	Parv-us
Ūamh Ūamha (cave)	Hum-us
Sceach (whitethorn)	Spic-a
Nead (nest)	Nid-us
Maol (bare, without hair or grass)	Mal-us
Cnū (nut)	Nux
Leac (stone)	Lap-is

The word *baile* given above is unmistakably the same as the Latin *vill-a*, and the Greek *polis*. In modern speech and dictionaries the English meaning assigned is usually a town or hamlet. Its real meaning

was pretty much the same as that of the Roman *vill-a*. In historical times the Roman *vill-a* consisted of the residence of the *Domin-us* with the dwellings of his dependents. While the Irish clan system continued the *baile* consisted of the dwellings of the father of the family and those of the married male members who were under his *Patria potestas*. The word enters perhaps more widely than any other Gaelic word into place-names in Ireland. And, furthermore, to show that the explanation just given is the correct original meaning, it may be pointed out that *ag baile*, or *san baile*, means even now "at home," while *as baile* means "from home."

Next is appended a list of miscellaneous words :

Gaelic	Latin
Ubh (egg)	Ov-um
Bàn (white)	Bon-us
Dubh (black)	Dubi-us
Àrd (high)	Ardu-us
Beag (little)	Pauc-us
Gearr (short, narrow)	Curt-ſs
Mor (great)	Major
Stòr (treasure)	Tſeasaur-us
Mil (honey)	Mſl,) Melior }
Caol (threadbare, wasted)	Pal-or
Òir (gold)	Aur-um
Airgead (silver)	Argent-um
Sàile (salt)	Sal
Ruadh (red)	Rubid-us
Te (hot)	Tep-or
Sin (wind, bend)	Sinu-o
Cor (horn)	Corn-u
Bonn, Bond (what supports any- thing, as the sole of the foot)	Fund-o
Adeir (speak)	Dicere
Beir (bear, bring forth)	Fer-o
Caech (blind)	Cac-us

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Dall (blind)	Dol-or
Fāg (clear, sweep)	Vag-or
Mias (a dish)	Messa
Nua, Nuadh (new)	Nov-us
Rogha (choice)	Rog-o
Rotha (wheel)	Rota
Rud (a thing)	Res
Searbh (bitter)	Serv-us
Faol (wild, untamed)	Vil-is
Ūr (new, original)	Or-igo
Āit (place)	Sit-us
Garbh (rough)	Gravis
Ceart (right)	Cert-us, Rect-us
Trēun (strong)	Strenu-us
Bromānach (rude)	Brum
Faon (empty, weak, foolish)	Van-us
Ramh (oar)	Ram-us
Sāith (enough)	Sat-is

Above I have given as the Gaelic original of the Latin *bon-us*, "good," the vocable *bān*, which means white; and as the root or stem of the comparative of the Latin word *bon-us* I have given *mil* (honey), the Latin comparative being *melior*, which, presumably, signified to the earliest Latin speakers something like "honeyish," or "honey-sweet." On this point I have gradually changed my opinion. When I first began to study the subject I leant to the conclusion, which I still think right, that the Latin comparative is the Latin and Gaelic *mil*, with *or* added; and that it really did mean originally something like "honey-sweet." On that ground I jumped to the conclusion that the Gaelic word from which the Latin positive was derived was *binn*, which means "sweet" in taste, arguing that as honey was the sweetest substance known to the earliest Romans, it was natural that they should make "sweet" as honey the comparative of sweet in

taste. Upon fuller consideration, however, I have changed my mind. The change has been brought about, firstly, by the fact, which at the first I must admit I did not think of, that the Gaelic word "sweet" ends in *nn*, which implies that originally the second *n* was *d*, or *t*. But there is no trace of either a *d* or a *t* in *bon-us*. Consequently, I felt that I was on unsafe ground. On further considering how "white" came to mean "good" it very soon occurred to me that all experience proves that where a white people are in conflict with a coloured people they adopt their own colour as the symbol of all their own excellences. This has been the case ever since the Aryans entered India. It is unnecessary to cite instances. It will be enough to remind the reader of the peculiar sense in which the phrase "a white man" is used in America. Once "white" came to be used in this symbolic sense it would not be long until the word would come to mean "good." And there is no difficulty in understanding that a primitive people who knew of nothing sweeter than honey, or, indeed, as sweet, should adopt some such word as "honeysweet" to represent the comparative.

The Gaelic word *maol*, used as an adjective, and meaning "bare" in the sense of being without hair or grass or horns, is suggested above as the original of the Latin word *mal-us*. The reader will have no difficulty in recognising the very high degree of probability that this is correct. For to an agricultural people, whose well-being depended upon the fertility of the soil, a stretch of ground without grass would naturally be looked upon as one of the most disappointing and worst things they could happen upon.

CHAPTER VI

AFFINITY OF LATIN AND GAELIC (*continued*)

THE foregoing lists make no pretension to be exhaustive. If necessary, it would be easy to add considerably to them. But to do so would be to tax unduly the patience of the reader. If he is not convinced by the instances that have been cited of the near kinship of Gaelic and Latin, it is not likely that doubling, or trebling, the lists would materially change his opinion. It will, then, be more likely to help him in arriving at a correct view of the case if his attention is called to the manner in which modern French has grown up. The early histories of Rome and of the Latin language are utterly lost. But we know fairly well the history of the formation of French. We are well acquainted with two at least of the speeches from which it originated, and we can with a great deal of accuracy trace the changes through which it has passed. Moreover (and to this point the attention of the reader is especially requested) French grew up amongst a people who, if they were not in blood mainly Gaelic, did at all events speak a Gaelic tongue. They had gradually come to disuse the Gaelic spoken by their ancestors and they came to adopt Latin. Thus, we know to a certain extent the language rejected. We know much better both the language upon which the new

speech was mainly founded, and the language into which it was ultimately transformed. We have, then, a historical illustration of the formation of a new tongue, and it ought to help us greatly in coming to a decision with regard to the probable formation of a language, the sources of which are so far a matter of dispute. Over and above all this, the thesis here being put forward is that Latin, in so far as it is a branch of Aryan speech, is essentially Gaelic. As the language grew and became more polished it borrowed from other Aryan sources as well as from non-Aryan. But the main basis is Gaelic. Does an examination of the formation of French help us to arrive at a judgment whether the thesis here put forward is or is not, well founded?

From the conquest of Gaul by Cæsar to the fall of the Western Empire, was roughly five centuries. What is now known as Provence had been annexed before, while Gallia Cis-Alpina had been brought under the dominion of Rome even before Hannibal crossed the Alps. Therefore, the well-established historical connection between the Romans and the Gauls was of very long standing; and the necessary consequence was that the influence of Rome upon the latter must have been great. Cæsar evidently did his utmost to attach the Gauls to his own person and to the party in Rome which he led, and with very considerable success. There were a few insurrections after his death. But considering what a warlike people the Gauls were, and how large a portion of the world their ancestors had conquered, it is amazing how

quickly they accepted their position within the Roman Empire, and how soon the leading classes amongst them abandoned their own speech, and adopted Latin. If the theory here being maintained is correct, the fact that they did so is less surprising than it otherwise would seem, since the language dropped and the language adopted were so near akin. Modern French is the outgrowth or continuance of the *langue d'oïl*; that is to say, of the French that grew up in Northern France, or the France that had been inhabited by the Galli and the Belgæ as distinguished from the Aquitani. Its predominance was ultimately determined by the crusade against the Albigensis, which broke the power, and delayed for centuries the progress, of Southern France. We have, then, in the case of the French language a speech which grew out of the Latin, but not of the Latin as it was spoken in Rome; whereas, in Latin we have the case of a language which grew up in a city with a small surrounding agricultural territory, where the conquerors formed an aristocracy, and the conquered were without political rights; probably, also, without in a great measure civil rights. A study, therefore, of the early growth of French ought to help us in our study of the early growth of Latin.

The student who takes up the subject in a serious spirit cannot fail to be struck by the greatness of the changes made by the Gaulish speakers in transforming Latin into French. They did not dispense altogether with inflexions. For example, they retained inflexions to a much greater extent than the framers of English did after the Norman Conquest. Traces of inflexions

still exist in English. But they are few and faint; whereas they are plentiful and obtrusive in French. The explanation probably is that the Celtic conquerors of Britain had not had time to impose their own language fully upon the Brown people they found in possession before the Romans came in, conquered the two, and imposed their language upon a considerable proportion, at all events, of both Celts and those subject to them. Before the Britons, in their turn, had time completely to adopt Latin, Teutonic overlords came in and established their sway over a great part of England and the eastern portion of Lowland Scotland. Lastly, before the heterogeneous population thus forcibly brought together had time to become assimilated the Normans came, and endeavoured to impose their speech upon all who submitted to their sway. Apparently, then, a very large part of those who are supposed to have spoken what is called Anglo-Saxon were not really speakers of it, and the consequence was that in the struggle between French and English the inflexional system almost entirely disappeared. In France, it is plain, on the contrary, that the Romans had been more successful in assimilating all the populations in Gaul than they had been in England, or, indeed, than had been any other conquerors in that country. Moreover, the Gaulish speakers in Gaul, no doubt, recognised the near kinship of Latin and Gaulish; the more readily, therefore, accepted the tongue of their conquerors; and, as a result, threw away less of the inflexions. Nevertheless, they did make very marked changes.

For one thing, they dropped a multitude of words that one would naturally expect to find in any language derived from Latin. For example, the names Cæsar and Augustus had been appropriated as titles by the Emperors, and to this day Cæsar, in the form Kaiser, is borne by the Sovereigns of Austria and of Germany, no doubt, because the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire claimed to represent Charlemagne, and through him the Emperors of Rome. But when the Capets assumed the crown of France they contented themselves with reviving the title which was native, and to which they were attached—*rich*, or as it was softened in the new tongue, *roi*. Moreover, they dropped *Urbs*, the special designation of the great Imperial City. And what is more remarkable, they rejected almost all Roman military technical terms. One would naturally expect that, as the Romans were the greatest military people of whom we have record, their military organisation and their military terms would have been adopted by those they conquered, and so preserved. As a matter of fact, the Gauls, if they ever used, did not continue such words as *exercitus*, *legio*, *cohors*, *legatus*, *centurio*, *castrum*, *equites* or *gladius*. This may be because Gaul submitted so soon that the legions were mostly encamped on the frontiers; or it may be that the Gauls to the last cherished with pride the memory of their conquering career, and believed themselves to be fully the equals of the Romans; or it may be that both influences played their part. In any event, we have in French, instead of the Roman technicalities, *guerre*,

batire, *bataille*, *bataillon*, and *baton*. Whatever may be the true derivation of the French word for "war," there is no doubt at all about the origin of the other words just cited. The root, or at all events the stem, is "bat." The word is even to-day in common use in Gaelic. The last word, *baton*, is really only a slightly changed form of *batin*, "a cudgel." Those who are old enough to remember Irish faction fights will also remember with what skill the *batin* was used. Again, where the framers of French preserved Latin terms, they in many cases changed them almost beyond recognition. For example, the Latin *oculus* is hardly recognisable in the French plural form *yeux*. Not less remarkable is the way in which words, which one would think would be amongst the first to be adopted by a people when changing its language and, therefore, to be preserved, have been dropped. Thus, instead of the Latin names for different parts of the body, we have, to cite only a few, *tête*, *bouche*, *joue*, and so on. Allied words very similar in form are found in Provencal, in Italian, in Spanish, and in Portuguese. There is much difference of opinion as to their origin. Probably they were Aquitanian words. If so, French is a composite language. The bulk of the vocabulary, no doubt, is Latin. But it contains a very large number of Gaelic words likewise, and a very considerable number of what in all probability were derived from the language of the Brown people who were in possession of the country before either Romans or Gauls made their appearance there, and who in Cæsar's time were seemingly represented by the Aquitani. It is unnecessary to go on showing the changes

made. But it may be permissible to remind the reader that even *vir*, *mulier*, *puer*, and *puella*, were rejected.

At this distance of time it is impossible to discover the causes which determined the retention of so large a part of the Latin language and the rejection of the rest. But the process is similar wherever we can accurately trace the way in which a new language has been formed from other languages. Of one thing we may be very certain, that caprice played very little part in the process. Individuals may be capricious. But a whole population always acts according to law. This is found to be the case even in such phenomena as suicide, and the number of deaths from particular diseases. That being so, it is certain that the rejection and the retention of words when a new language is coming into existence are determined by law. One of the decisive influences would, of course, be the extent to which the foreign language had succeeded in displacing the native. English has completely killed Celtic throughout what is now called England and Lowland Scotland. But it has not killed it in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, or in parts of Ireland—demonstrating that where Celtic died out very early it had nearly perished when the Western Empire fell. As so many French words are of Gaelic origin, and as those words have in so many instances reference to war, to military adventure, and to military weapons, it seems certain that, although Rome had ruled Gaul so long, and although the Gauls had submitted after such a brief period of resistance, Celtic must have continued to be known, at all events, by all classes to

the very last. If the higher classes had all become Roman both in feeling and in speech, it is incredible that *capal*, or *cabal*, meaning "a horse" and its derivatives, *chevalier*, and *cavalerie*, could have displaced the Latin words, and established themselves permanently in French. Similarly, it is impossible that *battre* and *bataille* should have permanently taken their places in French. It is, of course, unquestionable that the Gaelic chiefs did, to a very large extent at all events, accept their position as Roman nobles, did adopt Latin, did, indeed, distinguish themselves both in oratory and in literature. But it is inconceivable that, if they had altogether forgotten their ancestral tongue, chivalry could have borrowed its designation and its distinguishing terms from the Gaulish. Apparently, then, the composition of French establishes beyond doubt the fact that Celtic continued to be spoken in Gaul until long after the fall of the Western Empire—probably continued to be spoken widely throughout France till quite late in the Middle Ages.

Another conclusion which seems to be established by an analysis of the French tongue is that the Barbarians exercised very little influence upon its formation. Hence, German has not entered materially into its vocabulary. Of course, there are a good many words derived from German, such as *nord*, *sud*, *est*, and *ouest*. Many others might be cited. But the German element is small. On the other hand, there is a very considerable portion of the vocabulary that seems at all events to be Basque, or if the word be objected to, Aquitanian. Unfortunately, the Basque

has not been studied as it ought to have been studied, and the knowledge of it does not enable one, therefore, to fully and properly catalogue the French speech. Nevertheless it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Brown race must have exercised a very considerable influence on the formation of French. Quite possibly, over the greater part of the country Aquitanian had nearly ceased to be spoken before the Western Empire fell, yet not completely. For, while Latin was spreading not only in the south, but also in the north, west, and east of France, it seems clear that the Brown race which preceded the Celts in possession of the country did import into the dialect of Latin which ultimately developed into modern French a very large number of their own words.

It may be interesting, as bearing not only upon the formation of a new language, but especially upon that of French, to trace the origin of the word *oui*. It has been pointed out already that modern French has mainly grown out of the *langue d'oïl*. The word *oil* is generally said to have been originally the Latin word *ille*, and to have meant "yes." It is impossible to accept such a derivation. However the Gauls in taking up Latin may have misunderstood the meaning of words, or transformed that meaning, it is incredible that they could have changed the word *ille* into *oil*. The real explanation surely must be that *oil* is a Celtic word. In Irish Gaelic there is no word for "yes." The answer to a question is either a repetition of the words in question, with an affirmative or a negative, or else "it is," or "it is not." One of the ways of

saying "it is," or "it is not," would be in the affirmative *fuil sē* or "it is"; in the negative, *n'il sē*, "it is not." As Latin gained more and more ground upon Celtic, the origin of the word *fuil* would necessarily be forgotten, and the pronunciation might change somewhat. *Oi*, for example might take the place of *ui*. For that matter, even before Latin was introduced, the French Gaelic speakers may have spelt the word with an *o* while the Irish speakers spelt it with a *u*. In any event, the *f* would be dropped when its meaning was forgotten, and when *oil* came to be misconceived as a form of *ille*. Gradually, the *l* itself would be dropped, and *oui* would take the place of *fuil*. Here again we have decisive evidence of the permanent part played by Celtic in the formation of modern French.

There is one other word which it is worth while to trace to its origin; partly because it confirms what has just been said, the influence of the Gaulish element in the formation of French; partly because it is misconceived by Littré in his great dictionary; and partly because it has been adopted into English. The word referred to is "country." In French, as the reader knows, of course, it is spelt *contrée*. And, strange to say, the great French lexicographer gives as its derivation the Latin *contra*. In Irish Gaelic the word is *ceanntear*. It means a district or territory. It is in common use even to-day amongst Gaelic speakers in Ireland. And at one time it passed into administrative English in Ireland in the form of *cantred*. Apart from the evidence it affords of the pre-eminent in-

fluence of the Gaelic population in forming French, the word has another interest, as suggesting how much may be learned from pronunciation where pronunciation in the past can be ascertained. "Country" was introduced by the Normans into England, and gradually has become as English as any word in the language. But it will be noticed that in English the first syllable is spelt "coun," though it does not now retain the diphthongal sound. It is, however, almost inconceivable that the *u* could have been introduced, if it were not pronounced, or, more properly speaking, if it did not help to represent a diphthongal sound. Now in Munster *ceann* is pronounced very much as if it were spelt "kyoun," treated as one syllable. But it is now pronounced so, only when it stands alone. When it enters into composition, it is pronounced short like "can." The change, however, may be due to the fact that Gaelic is rapidly dying. It may have been quite different when Gaelic was the language of the whole country. Is it possible that the Munster sound also once upon a time prevailed amongst the Celtic Gauls, and that even when the word "country" was carried to England, the first syllable in it was pronounced like the first syllable in "county"? It is difficult to believe that at the time printing was introduced the printers, who played so great a part in determining the spelling of words, would introduce a *u* unless they wished to convey the proper sound. If they did, then it follows that a sound somewhat similar to the Munster diphthongal sound just referred to was pronounced even in England in the time of the

Tudors, and that the same sound was common amongst French speakers. There are, unfortunately, no means of determining what the pronunciation was so long ago. But philologists would do well to pay much more attention to pronunciation than they do, and particularly to the pronunciation of the uneducated. The educated, for thousands of reasons, are constantly changing pronunciation. But in remote country districts the same sounds are repeated generation after generation. And anybody who happens to know the ancient language of a district will be able, if he pays close attention to the pronunciation, not only to determine the meaning of names of places and their origin, but to increase his knowledge of the history of that district. Now that the schools established by county and borough authorities are superseding the old pronunciation, it is exceptionally desirable that attention should be given to the pronunciation in remote districts, especially of the illiterate and the old.

We have now seen the process followed in arranging a new language when those who shape it are the population in general as distinguished from the Government. Let us inquire whether the same process is or is not followed when the formation of a language is determined more by the Government than by the general population. The Western Roman Empire fell from pretty much the same causes as the Manchurian régime in China has fallen in our own day. In China, Russia and Japan have divided Manchuria between themselves. Our own country has obtained not only Wei-hai-Wei, but a large addition to Hong-Kong. Furthermore,

Germany has acquired Kiao-chau. If Russia and Japan had been able to come to an agreement between themselves, and had set the Western Powers at defiance, the carving up of China would have been carried much farther. In the same way, the fall of the Western Empire was not due to the invasion of the Barbarians. Indeed, the word invasion is largely misapplied. The Barbarians in reality were flying from fiercer and more powerful Barbarians than themselves, and were seeking protection quite as much as booty when they entered the Roman Empire. Had the Roman Government been strong enough to control the Barbarians, to settle some upon the waste lands, just as the Norsemen at a much later date were settled in Normandy, and to enroll the fighting men in its own armies, the Western Empire would have continued just as it had continued for centuries before in spite of Barbarian attacks. Nothing more clearly proves this than the history of the Franks. Whether or not they were invited by the Church to enter Gaul, it is certain that they made themselves the men of the Church. They became Christians, and devoted themselves to carry out the behests of the Church. On its side, the Church was able to control the actions of the Provincials. Therefore, the Franks, with the aid of the Church, succeeded easily in overcoming the heretical Goths and Burgundians. The great ecclesiastics, as a result of all this, had immense influence not only over the policy of the Franks, but over the administration of every place that people conquered, and naturally the sympathy of Christian Churchmen was all with Latin, the language of the Church.

It is not a matter for surprise, therefore, that Latin prevailed over Gaulish. Yet the Gauls were so attached to their mother tongue, that it continued to be spoken so generally that it has given its terminology to chivalry, and largely to the feudal system. If we turn from a study of the formation of French to the study of the formation of English, we shall find a striking contrast, which will be useful to us in deciding ultimately upon the origin of the Roman people.

During the past half-century or so, a strange misconception of the Anglicisation of England has come into vogue. It is due, mainly, to the pan-German propaganda. It is altogether opposed to the early traditions of the English people, as witness the legends of Brut, King Lear, and Cymbeline. It is equally in contradiction to all the genuine evidence that we have. The story of Hengist and Horsa is as purely mythical as that of Romulus and the Wolf, and we have absolutely no contemporary account of how the Angles and Saxons established themselves in England. It is a moot point whether the Roman authority was ever re-established in the island after the revolt of Maximus. Probably it never was. In any event, for some time before the fall of the Western Empire the Barbarians were in absolute control of its government in Italy and the other provinces. They not only manned the armies; but Barbarians commanded the military forces, and even set up puppet Emperors, so little did they desire in the beginning to put an end to the Empire. Consequently, we may be very sure that as Roman authority dwindled the Barbarian garrison of Britain seized all

power. As a matter of course, the Barbarians soon quarrelled amongst themselves, and Britain was parcelled out into a number of kingdoms, just as the Empire of Alexander had been long before. The Barbarians who thus got possession at first of a portion of Britain, and ultimately, of the greater part of it, were not merely savage, but they were also pagan. Therefore, they were at war with such of the natives as were able to organise themselves and endeavour to set up a native social organisation. Moreover, they were at war with the natives also because the latter were Christians. Consequently, they were not disposed to adopt Latin. It was not till long after that the Barbarians were Christianised, and by that time the policy of spreading their language and inviting over relatives from the Continent had been carried so far that the Church failed to keep Latin alive. But that there was ever any extermination of either Romans or Romanised Britons, or Celtic Britons, there is not a tittle of evidence to show, while there is an immense volume of evidence to disprove it. For example, the Anglo-Saxon laws make provision for the affairs of the Welsh as well as those of the English. Furthermore, it is unquestionable that London continued Latin for a long time after the Saxons had settled in the counties round about. In addition to this, it is undisputable that Celtic continued to be spoken, not merely in the western half of England, but also in the south-east, the east, and the north. Lastly, there is a considerable infusion of Celtic words, both Gaelic and Cymric, in English.

The Gaelic *is*, is, to say the least, as probable an

origin of the English word spelt identically the same as the German *ist*; *toanga* is as probable a source of "tongue" as the German *zunge*; *se* and *si* are as likely to have given "he" and "she" to the English as the German *er* and *sie*, the more particularly as the Gaelic *si* is pronounced in exactly the same way as the English "she." Furthermore, *bi*, pronounced exactly as "be" in English, is the Gaelic imperative of the verb "to be," and may just as well have given "be" to English as the German *bin*. However, passing from these disputable words, we have unquestionable Gaelic sources for the English "belly" and the English "loin" in the Gaelic *bolg* and the Gaelic *luan*. Furthermore, the English "door" is the Gaelic *doras*; the English "road" the Gaelic *rodh*; the English "iron," the Gaelic *iaran*, and surely not the German *eisen*; the English "mad" is the Gaelic *amad*; the English "body" is the Gaelic *bodag*; the English "bother" is the Gaelic *bodhar*; the English "booth" is the Gaelic *botha*; the English "lawn" is the Welsh *llann*; the English "loom" is the Gaelic *lamh*; the English "lush" is the Gaelic *lus*; the English "dust" is the Gaelic *dus*. Then we have *truas*, pronounced exactly as the Shakespearean *trous*, the origin of "trousers." The old English "coney" for rabbit, the Gaelic *coinim*; and *broc* for "badger"; *buck* for a he goat; *bat* for "beat"; and *beir* for "bear." Lastly, it may be mentioned that the English "cuckoo" is the Gaelic *cuach*. Without wearying the reader with other illustrations, it may be enough to say, in

conclusion, that the widespread use of *me* for *I* amongst the uneducated in all parts of the United Kingdom, points to a time when the ancestors of the speakers used *me* as the first personal pronoun in the nominative singular.

To understand why Latin and Celtic held their ground in Gaul and both died out gradually in England it is only necessary to picture to oneself the respective positions in which the Provincials in each country found themselves after the fall of the Western Empire. As has just been pointed out, the Franks were a much weaker people than the Goths and the Burgundians. But they were, if not invited by the Church into Gaul, at all events welcomed there by it. Moreover, they were used for the purpose of putting down heresy. The Franks responded by upholding the authority of the Church, and extending it to the utmost of their power. They also responded by employing ecclesiastics largely in their administration. Furthermore, it is to be recollected that the Gaulish people had had in Druidical times a Church almost as popular and as powerful as the Christian Church. Consequently, when once the Gauls were won over to the Church it was not difficult to prevail upon them to regard the new priests as they had regarded their old heathen priests. But the priests had an interest in preserving the language of the Church, and, therefore, Latin flourished under the Franks. On the other hand, if one tries to figure to oneself the position of the conquered Celts or Romanised Britons after the

Saxon Conquest, one will see that the laws of the new conquerors, having been drawn up in their own language, were administered also in that language; and that they were the laws of pagans imposed upon a Christian people. Naturally, therefore, the conquered people must have felt themselves absolutely without redress so long as they did not understand the language of the conqueror. As soon as they submitted, learnt the conqueror's language, agreed to pay rent to the conqueror, or to work upon his land, the conqueror was inclined to extend his protection over them. But as long as they sullenly held aloof the conqueror dared not trust them. Thus every kind of inducement, the fear of consequences and the hope of advantages, were held out to the conquered to learn the new language. It was a long time before Christianity was introduced. Consequently, the priests of the conquered people were powerless to protect. There was, it will be recollected, no great world Church to step between conqueror and conquered. When at last Christianity was established, it was Roman, not Celtic, Christianity. Moreover, by that time, the invaders had made good their footing in the island, and the Latin-speaking, Celtic-speaking, and aboriginal-speaking people, wherever any such remained, were split up into small tribes. Sometimes, indeed, the foreign conquerors had cut off from one another the people they found in possession, driving a wedge between them. When, moreover, Christianity was introduced, it brought with it to the conquerors the civilisation

of the Continent; while the Celtic Churches were more or less cut off from the Roman Church, and, consequently, the English-speakers grew in authority. As they did so, the incentives to learn English became stronger and stronger, while the disadvantages of not knowing English grew greater every day. There is not, then, the slightest reason for supposing that any attempt was ever made at the extermination of the people in possession on the landing of Saxons and Angles. That they were savage, fierce, bloodthirsty, merciless, goes without saying. But the merest savages tire of slaughter after a while; especially as the leaders of the victorious people must have desired to secure subjects who would till the lands, and do the rough, heavy, and disagreeable work. Clearly there would have been little gain for the body of Saxons and Angles in exchanging the German forests and swamps for those of Britain unless they were able to quarter themselves as masters upon a subject population bound to work for them. The Roman land system which they found in existence provided exactly the kind of thing that suited savages ready enough to face danger and adventure, but hating with an unslaked hatred hard regular work with little reward for it. If any reader doubts the sufficiency of the reasons here put forward, let him reflect upon the influence of the growth of the United States and our own colonies upon the decay of Gaelic both in Ireland and in Scotland, and the spread of English. The Gaelic speaker who does not know English is at an utter

loss the instant he leaves his native neighbourhood; while if he knows English he is at home in the greater part of the world.

While, then, an examination into the formation and growth of French leads us to the conclusion that where a language grows amongst the general population, without much interference one way or another on the part of the Government, the necessary tendency is for the language spoken by the people and the language used in the celebration of religious rites to supersede all others. From an examination of what happened in England it can now be seen that the reverse is the case where a Government insists upon conducting all its proceedings in a foreign language. The language of the Courts of Justice must be learned unless the people are able to overturn the Government and change its policy. There was no extermination by Saxons. There was no deliberate attempt to prevent people from speaking their mother tongue. On the contrary, so far as we can follow the meaning of the Anglo-Saxon laws, there seems to have been an honest endeavour to deal fairly with the Welsh so long, of course, as the authority and superiority of the English were respected. Naturally the Welsh, when they lost hope of driving out the foreigner, felt it to be indispensable to learn English, and a people must be intensely patriotic if for any length of time they keep up two languages. The almost inevitable result is that the language of the law supersedes every other. If we extend our examination from Saxon to Norman times, we find

this conclusion thoroughly confirmed. While the connection between England and Normandy was maintained French made extraordinary progress. When Normandy and Anjou were both lost, French began to recede. The Norman Government was so strong that it was able, except in the anarchic time of Stephen, to maintain order, and, as it administered the law in French, it was the interest of every man to know the language of the law. But under John the authority of the Crown was seriously undermined. And during the long and weak reign of Henry the Third the nobles became practically the dominant force in the Empire. While they were French in spirit and sentiment French grew. When they became jealous of Henry the Third's partiality for his wife's relations and countrymen, and especially when they had lost all their own possessions in Normandy, they became English, and with the swinging round of the feeling of the Norman element French began to grow weaker and English began to come to the front. The result of the whole inquiry, then, is that, assuming the thesis here being maintained to be correct, the Patricians, who were the dominant class in Rome, who were in fact the Government, and held every office of power and emolument, dictated the language of the people. Consequently, it was a natural result that the Gallic tongue should displace both Etrurian and the speech of the Brown race, though, no doubt, it is true that there is in Latin an infusion of both languages. Still, in its main features, in its structure, and in its inflexions, it is essentially Gaelic.

CHAPTER VII

AFFINITY OF LATIN AND GAELIC (*concludea*)

So far attention has been given mainly to the construction of the vocabulary of the language. But the construction of the sentences is as important at least as the selection, retention, and rejection of words. Therefore, inflection in all its forms calls for consideration as much as the mere sources of the vocabulary. French, as has been pointed out already, retains a great deal of the Latin inflexional system. It has modified it, and changed it in some important particulars: but it has not thrown it away to anything like the extent that English has thrown away the German inflexional system. It is chiefly, however, in the conjugation of the verbs that French preserves inflexions. It ought, therefore, to help us in judging of the manner in which Latin was formed, if we inquire shortly how the framers of modern French adapted the Latin inflexional system to their own needs. Broadly speaking, the French retained most of the moods and tenses. Probably classical Latin was never properly understood in Gaul, except, of course, by the chiefs and nobles. The body of the people cannot be supposed to have thoroughly understood the Latin grammar. Probably the forms would have no meaning to them. On the other hand, they had themselves a highly inflexional language, and it is probable that in manipulating Latin they were guided largely by the moods and tenses of their native speech. In any event, it can be seen, on looking at the French conjugations,

that in most cases they are based upon the Latin forms, though those forms have been worn down and altered. But in one particular the French completely threw away a Latin tense, and formed a new one for themselves. The Latin imperfect, or customary, past tense ends in *bam* in certain of the conjugations, while the future ends in *bo*. Apparently, this circumstance caused the framers of French to reject altogether the Latin form of the future, and to substitute a new one for it by using the present tense indicative of their own new verb "to have" as the termination of the French future indicative. Thus, *j'aimerai*, the future of the French verb "to love," is clearly "I have to (or shall) love." In another particular, it will be observed that while the framers of French retained the inflexions of the different tenses, they did not retain what was meant by them to the true Latin-speakers. The inflexions conveyed to the true Latin-speaker the sense of the personal pronouns as well as the sense of whatever the meaning of the verb was. But the framers of French, while not rejecting either the inflexions or most of the tenses, added the distinct personal pronouns. In the present Irish Gaelic a verb can be used either with its inflexions, in which case the personal pronouns are not employed, or with the personal pronouns, in which case inflexions are not used. The stem of the tense without change is used with each personal pronoun. Whether this practice existed in Gaul nearly two thousand years ago it is, of course, impossible now to determine. But the fact that the inflexions did not convey to the framers of modern French the idea that they stood for the personal pronouns suggests that there must have been a habit amongst

the Gauls of employing the personal pronouns with the uninflected verb, as well as employing the fully inflected verb without the personal pronouns. It may be objected that the Germans employ the personal pronouns, and yet retain the inflexions; and, therefore, that it is more likely that it was Frankish influence than Gaulish influence which determined the French practice. The reader must decide for himself on that point, for no decisive evidence now exists to settle it. In any event, the way in which the Latin future was rejected for a new French future, and the employment of personal pronouns along with inflected verbs, ought to help us in our study of the formation of Latin; the more particularly as, in the case of English, while after the Norman Conquest it was struggling to maintain its inflexions they were, nevertheless, so generally thrown aside.

In applying the information thus acquired I must ask the reader's permission to explain that there are in Gaelic no fewer than five verbs, or parts of verbs, which are employed to make up the different meanings, and shades of meaning, as well as the different uses of the verb "to be." One of these Irish grammarians call the "assertive verb." In the modern Gaelic it is spelt *is*. In the old language it was spelt *as*. At the present time, the tenses change. That is to say, there are different forms for the present, the past, the future, and the conditional. But the tense forms themselves are not inflected. Thus:

<i>Gaelic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
Is me (I am)	Sum
Is tu (thou art)	Es
Is e, or i (he, or she, is)	Est

If the reader will now compare the above two

columns, he will see that the Gaelic and the Latin are almost identical. *Sum* is clearly *is me*; *Es* is clearly *is e*; and *Est* is clearly *es tu*. He will see, moreover, from this transposition that the Latin form is derived from the Gaelic, and not *vice versa*. That much seems to be evident from the fact that the *t* which stands for the Gaelic *tu* in the second person singular Gaelic is transferred in the Latin to the third person singular; while in the second person singular the Latin has not the *t* which it ought to have. In other words, the correct running would be *Sum, Est, Es*, instead of being *Sum, Es, Est*. Or, to put it differently, the second and third persons singular in the Gaelic are transposed in Latin; that is to say, the *t* in the word *tu* ends the third person singular Latin, instead of the second. This is a kind of change which might reasonably be expected if the Gaulish conquerors of Rome were comparatively few, while the subject people, whether of the Brown race, or Etrurians, were comparatively numerous. Subjects, finding it necessary to learn a conqueror's language, might very easily mistake "thou art" for "he is," and they would be more likely to make the mistake, if in their own language the ending, say, of the second person singular resembled the third person of the Gaelic. In any event, there can be no serious doubt that the Latin *sum* was formed out of the Gaelic *as* with the personal pronouns following.

Coming now to the imperfect of the Latin verb, which is *eram*, I would point out that there is a second verb, or rather part of a verb, in Gaelic which at present in its shortest and, therefore, stem form is spelt *raibh*. The spelling is modern, and is due to a pedantic

rule of Irish grammarians which distinguishes between the vowels, some being termed slender and some broad. The rule is that slender in one syllable must be followed by a slender vowel in the next and *vice versa*. The inflexional form of this particular part of the verb is *rabh-as*, "I have been"; *rabh-ais*, "thou hast been"; *raibh-se*, or *si*, "he or she has been." From which it seems clear that in the original spelling of the first syllable there was no *i*. In the first and second persons just given the *abh* is pronounced as *ow* is in the English word "brown." If the pronunciation was the same when Latin was being framed as it is to-day, the verb would run in the uninflected form *row-me*, and so on. In time, and with constant use, the *m* and the *t* would become part of the tense, and the Latin *eram* would be formed. All that is necessary to complete the demonstration is to account for the presence of the *e* at the beginning of the Latin word. As we have no specimen of Gaelic going back so vast a distance, we can only say that presumably there was an *e* before the *rabh*. If there was, the present form of the Latin is fully accounted for.

There is a third Irish verb which even yet is complete in its inflexions. It is *fuil*. If the *l* is dropped, that is to say the final letter of the syllable, the reader will see that we have at once the Latin *fui*, the first person singular of the preterit, or completed past tense. The pluperfect or past perfect is obviously made up of this *fui* and *eram*. It is, in short, the imperfect tacked on to the preterit. From all which it follows that the Latin verb "to be" is an amalgam of several Gaelic verbs which are still in the mouths of Gaelic-speakers in the British Isles. Before passing from

this part of the subject it may be worth while to point out that the verb *fuil* is used principally in dependent sentences, and in answering questions, and that when *ni*, which is the Latin *ne*, "not," comes before *f*, the *f* is not sounded, or is breathed as a very faint *h*. For example, if we were to ask: "Is (so and so) there?" and a Gaelic speaker were to answer "He is not," the answer would usually take the form *n'il se*, which would be pronounced as the English word "kneel." It would mean "He is not." And it suggests at once the origin of the Latin word *nihil* or *nil*. There cannot be a doubt that it is the old third person singular with a negative before it of the verb *fuil*, "is not." When the original Gaelic was forgotten, and the words had taken firm place in Latin, nothing would be more natural than that "is not" should come to be used for "nothing."

There remains only to consider the formation of the future of *sum*, *fuero*. Clearly it is *ero* added to *fui*. Both the form and the meaning of this tense indicate that it was formed after, probably a considerable time after, the preceding tenses. In the first place, though it is a future it is a past future. In the second place, the first person singular ends in *o*, while in the present, the imperfect, and the past perfect of the Latin verb *sum* the first person singular in all three ends with *m*. The termination of the preterit has been already accounted for. The *l* of the Gaelic was evidently left out. But in none of these four tenses of the indicative does the *o* appear; while it is found in the future. Presumably it is the last letter of *ego*, which generally reappears in the Latin active verbs. But if we may judge from the verb *sum* the *o* made its first appearance

late in the formation of Latin. Are we to draw the inference from that that in the earliest Aryan *mē* was the form of the nominative of the first personal pronoun, and that the *ego* comes from some other speech? It never was adopted in Gaelic. If the inference is justifiable, *ego* cannot have been derived from the Etruscans, for it exists in a great many other Aryan tongues. Was it, then, borrowed from the Brown race which inhabited the whole of the Mediterranean region, and, according to many good authorities, extended even to the western border of India? Or how is the fact to be accounted for that, while in so many of the Aryan languages *ego*, or some variation of it, is the nominative singular of the first personal pronoun, it disappears in all the subsequent cases, which are manifestly derived from *me*?

As seems to be the case with the future *fuero*, the plural forms of the verb "to be" in all the tenses appear to have been formed on a different principle from that on which the singular was formed. It will be recollected that the singular forms are all made up by adding the personal pronouns to the root, or, at all events, the stem, of the tense. But in the plural forms there is no trace of the use of the personal pronouns. Whether we look to those pronouns as they are expressed in Gaelic, or whether we take them as they are found in Latin, the method adopted seems to have been different. From which the inference appears to follow that the plural forms were framed subsequently to the singular forms. There is nothing unreasonable or in the least improbable in this. If the hypothesis put forward here is accepted, the Gauls, who made good their footing in Central Italy, found

there already a population more civilised than themselves, a population, so far as we can judge, the substratum of which was the Brown race allied to that great race which at one time peopled the whole Mediterranean regions, and which is generally believed to be represented at present by the Basques of Europe and the Berbers of Africa; while there was a ruling race apparently Etruscan. Manifestly, it would take a considerable time before the more backward but more militarily efficient conquerors could compel the two conquered peoples to give up their own languages, and adopt a new language. The new language, therefore, would be formed very gradually. It is not in the least unlikely that the simpler and more easily understood forms of the conquerors' language should be taken over long before the more difficult and especially the highly inflected portions. However that may be, it is clear that the plurals were formed on a principle different from that followed in forming the singular of the Latin verb *sum*.

There is another verb, or rather part of a verb, in Gaelic which is translated "am"; "is," "are," which has only a single tense; and, of course, therefore, only a single mood. It appears to be the origin of the Latin verb *sto*. As it exists at present in Gaelic it is spelt *ta*, and in the plural it runs in this way: *ta-muid* (we are); *ta-thi* (you, or ye, are); and *ta-id* (they are). It seems to have obtained its present meaning in Gaelic at a comparatively late date, for in Gaelic grammars it is given as the present tense of the verb whose second person singular imperative is *bi*, which is pronounced exactly in the same way as the English equivalent verb "be." There is, however, a regular

present tense indicative of the verb *bi*. But it is used in Gaelic to imply something that one is doing habitually or frequently. *Ta*, therefore, is used as the present without any reference to custom or habit. If the three plurals given above be compared with the Latin plurals of *sum*, it will be observed that in the first person plural, the second syllable begins both in Gaelic and in Latin with *m*. In the second person singular there is *thi* in Gaelic and *tis* in Latin. In the third there is *id* in Gaelic and *nt* in Latin. It looks, therefore, as if the plural form of *sum* was framed considerably later than the singular persons, and that it followed the inflected Gaelic form, instead of, as in the case of the singular, the non-inflected forms. I have troubled the reader with a reference to this verb only to complete the evidence going to show that the Latin verb *sum* in all its moods and tenses is derived from the various Gaelic verbs, or parts of verbs, which are employed to express "being" in all its diversities.

Passing from the verb *sum* to a consideration of the active Latin verbs of regular conjugation and of what is called the *a* class, I submit that it can be satisfactorily shown that their conjugation likewise results from the adaptation by subject foreigners of the Gaelic speech to serve the uses of the new tongue which grew up in consequence of the conquest of the Lower Tiber Valley by the Gauls. To establish this, I will take for examination the Latin verb *amo*. Like the future of *sum*, it ends in *o*, the *o* presumably representing the final letter of *ego*. For the reasons already stated, it is easy to understand that such a verb would come into regu-

lar use amongst a complex people only gradually and slowly. It would be formed, therefore, only when the Gaulish predominance was so thoroughly well established that the hope of shaking it off had practically died out among the subject population. The imperfect, or customary past, tense is formed by adding *bam* to the stem of the verb *ama*. In Gaelic there is the verb *is*, which, it will be recollected, is so largely the parent of the Latin *sum*. It has for its past tense *baah*, or *budh*. The *dh* in modern Gaelic is not pronounced, and sometimes is not written. If the same was the case 2500 or 3000 years ago, the Gauls when using the imperfect of *is* would say *ba-me*, *ba-tu*, and *ba-se*. And after a while the frequent use would lead to the forgetfulness of what the *me* and the *tu* meant. The whole syllable would be taken as an inseparable part of *amabam*. In reality, however, it meant in the beginning "I was," "thou wert," or "he, or she, was" loving. What has been said already of the plural forms of *sum* applies equally to the plural of *amo*. Moreover, the future of *amo*, *amabo*, is formed by adding the future of *is*, which is sometimes spelt *bu* and sometimes *ba*. It would be introduced into the speech of the people later than either the present or imperfect, and accordingly we find the *m* of the Gaelic replaced by the Latin *o*. The perfect or preterit tense is made up of the stem *ama* and the past of the Gaelic verb *bi* already referred to. The root of the Gaelic verb *is*, it will be recollected, *bi*, which is the second person singular of the imperative mood. It is pronounced and has the

same meaning as the English word "be," and it is commonly designated in Gaelic grammars the substantive verb. The first person singular of the preterit tense is spelt *bhi*, and is pronounced as the name of the English letter *v* is pronounced. It is very often used in an uninflected form with all the personal pronouns. What I suggest, therefore, is that the Roman people when they were becoming an assimilated people, and adopting Latin as their language, formed the preterit tense of *amo* and similar verbs by adding *vi* to the stem of the verb. *Amavaram*, the past perfect, is clearly the *vi* and *eram* added together and used as a suffix to *ama*.

The Gaelic substantive verb *bi* is unmistakably the origin of the Latin *vita* and the Latin *vivo*. In Gaelic *beatha* means "life," which is clearly the Latin word *vita*, the *b* being changed into *v*, a change which Latin speakers were always fond of making. *Bi*, the second person singular imperative, and the root of the verb, is equally clearly the origin of the verb *vivo*. The Latin-speakers to the end were very fond of reduplication. Very often, for example, they reduplicated when forming the preterit of a verb, and consequently, it would be natural that, when they wanted to express "life," actual living existence, they were not satisfied with the word *bi*, but made it *bibi*, or rather *vivi*. It is curious that philologists have not long ago traced the sources of these words which seem so plain. Perhaps there ought to be no cause for surprise that the identity was not recognised before the discovery of Sanskrit. But since a science of language has sprung up, and it

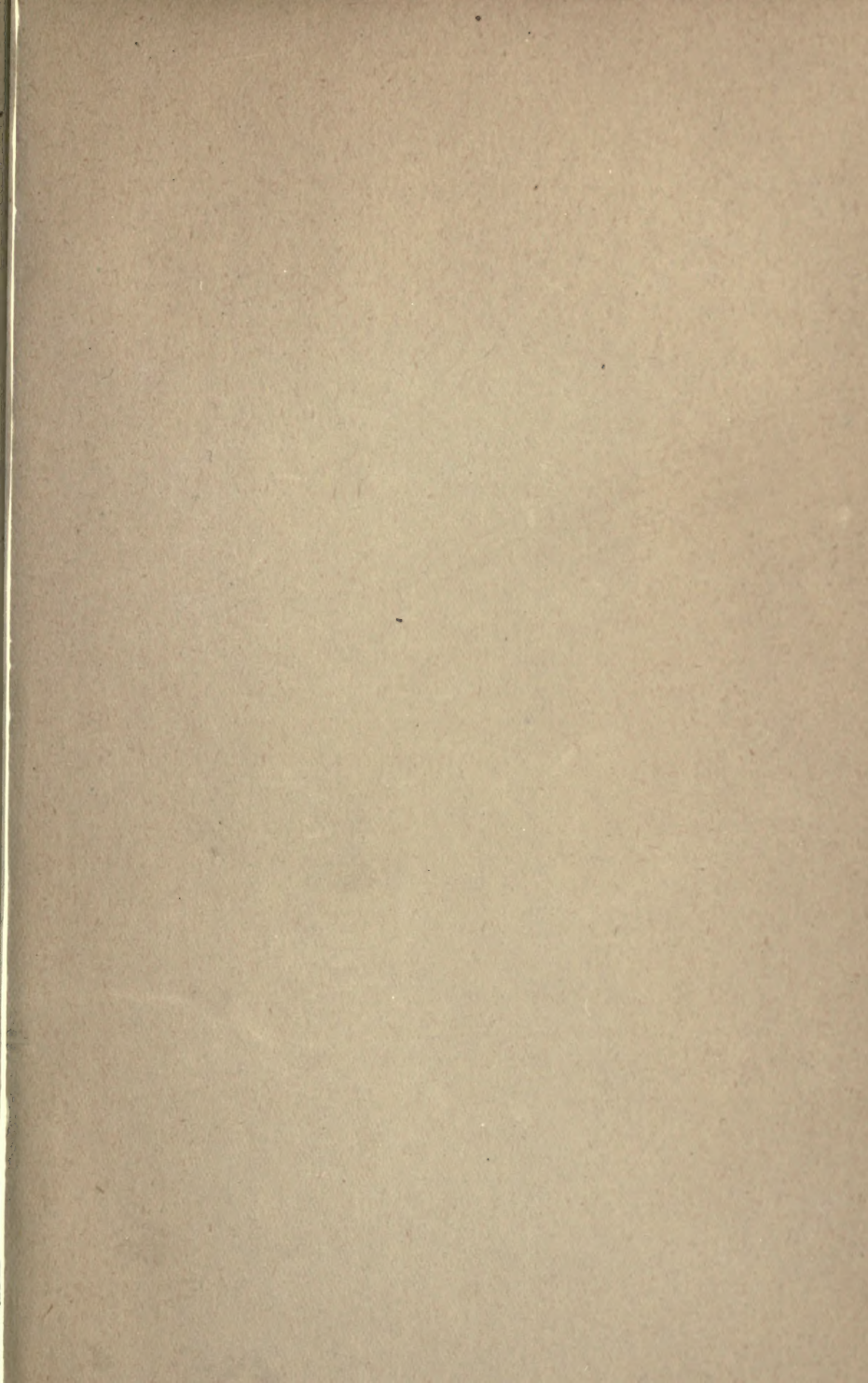
has been everywhere recognised that not only is Celtic one of the oldest branches of the Aryan family of tongues, but that it was spoken by a people who extended their rule over an immense portion of the earth's surface, it is, indeed, strange that some of the extremely acute and hardworking students have not brought to light the very close affinity between Latin and Gaelic. The more particularly is this surprising when it is borne in mind that so many words in Latin seem to have no connection with any other words in the language, and cannot be traced to their roots. *Vivo* and *vita* were such words. Except in the preterit of verbs and in similar unrecognisable forms the Gaelic *bi* was not taken over in its natural authentic shape into Latin. The *b* in almost every case was softened into *v*. But softening of that kind has been going on through all the generations, and is going on to-day. It ought not, therefore, to blind us to what is so manifest.

Not to spin out this inquiry unduly, I will conclude with drawing attention to two words, the derivation of which has puzzled etymologists. The first of these is *lucus*, which grave students have traced back to *lux* as the root, on the ground that the name was given on the principle of contrariety; that, in fact, *lucus* was given as a name to a grove, or wood, because the light was shut out by the trees. And yet the very rational explanation of the matter was at hand, if people would only recognise that there never had been a great Latin race; that the Latin people, in fact, were formed in Central Italy in consequence of a Gaulish conquest of two different peoples, and their amalga-

mation with their conquerors. *Coill*, in Gaelic, means a wood or forest. It is a word that enters almost as frequently into place-names in Ireland as *baile* itself. One can hardly travel a few miles in the island without coming upon either a *bally* or a *kyle*. Just as the Gaelic *cota* was transformed into the Latin *toga*, so the spelling of the Gaelic *coill* was reversed, *l* being put first, and *c* at the end of the first syllable, the *us* being the ordinary Latin termination. The word when properly understood throws some light upon the economic condition and the scenery of Italy between 2000 and 3000 years ago when Latin was formed. Ireland until a quite recent date was more than half covered by forests. But the *kyle*, which meant a great extent of timberland in the Gaelic, came to mean a much smaller thing in Italy. It suggests, therefore, that when the Gauls made themselves masters of the lower valley of the Tiber the Peninsula was in large measure denuded of trees. There were plantations here and there, but the great forests had long disappeared, and upon the country everywhere was settled an agricultural population.

Still more strikingly does the next word which I shall bring to the notice of the reader throw light upon the scenery and the economic condition of the Italian Peninsula. It is the Latin word *sylva*, "a wood." In Gaelic, *sliabh* means "a mountain chain" as distinct from a peak. My suggestion is that during the formation of Latin the Gaelic for a mountain chain lost its original meaning, and came to be applied to a wood or great stretch of country covered by trees. Long before the Alps evidently had acquired their

present name, either from the Gauls when first reaching them, or from some earlier Aryan invaders, the name for the Apennines apparently had become so rooted in the minds of both the Brown race and the Etrurians that even the Gaulish conquest was unable to root it out. But the Gauls naturally applied the word *sliabh* to the Apennines, and for a time the foreign word and the native word were in competition. Finally, the native word prevailed, and *sliabh*, from meaning a mountain came to mean mountain woods, or the woods that covered the great hills. It suggests, that is to say, just as *lucus* does, that except in the mountain districts, the whole Italian Peninsula had been almost cleared of forest. The land had been settled by an agricultural population, and every portion of it that would bear crops was being cultivated. Here and there a great chief or a sovereign prince might keep up a little clump of trees, but broadly speaking, the woods had disappeared from the plains. Yet although the subject population refused to substitute the name applied by the conquerors to the great mountain chain, they became sufficiently accustomed to the use of the Gaelic word for some part of the mountain chain that they applied it to the woods, and the word, which stands so much alone, and apparently without an ascertainable origin, is really and easily traceable back to the Celtic.



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